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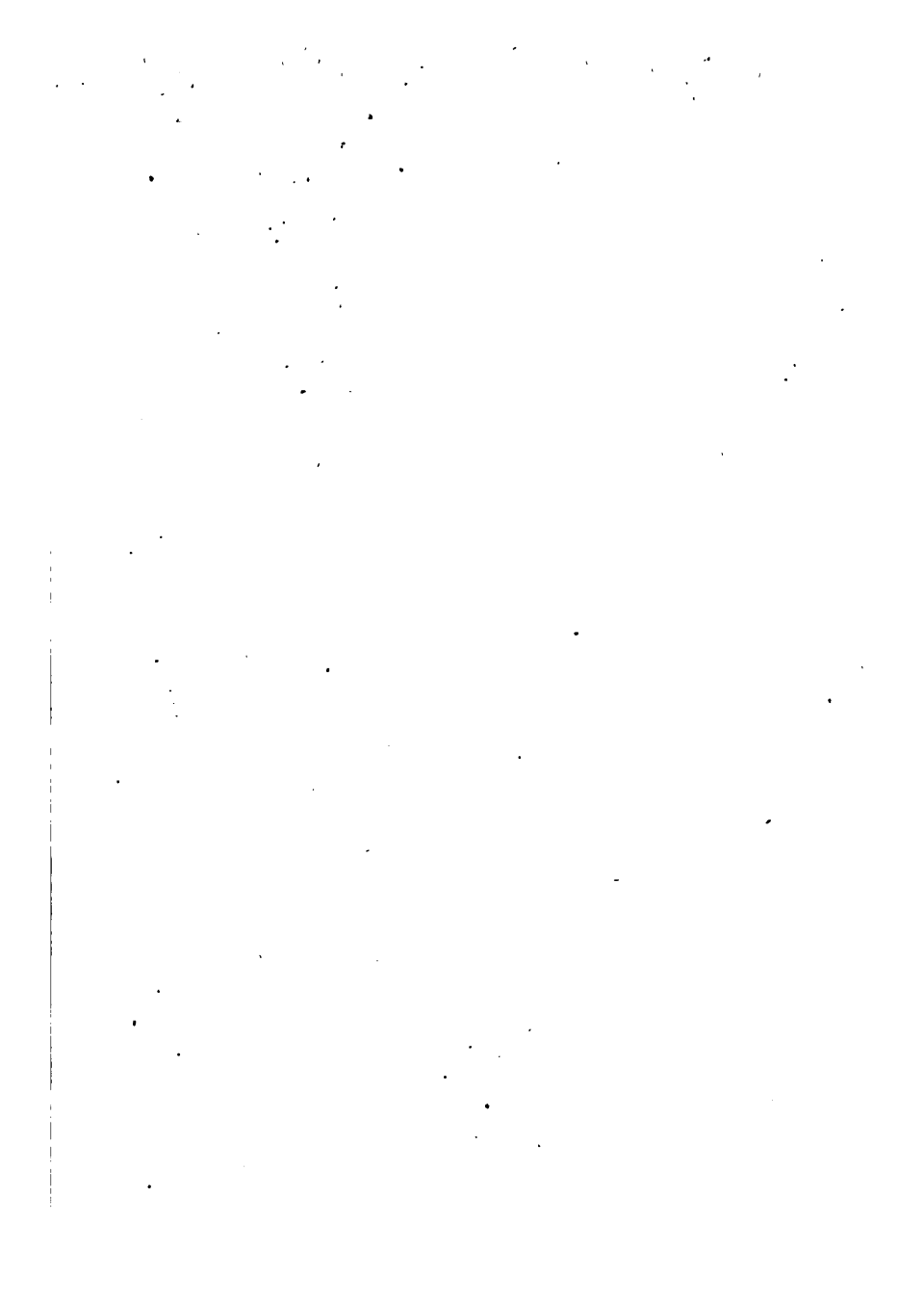
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WITH ENGLISH NOTES

BY

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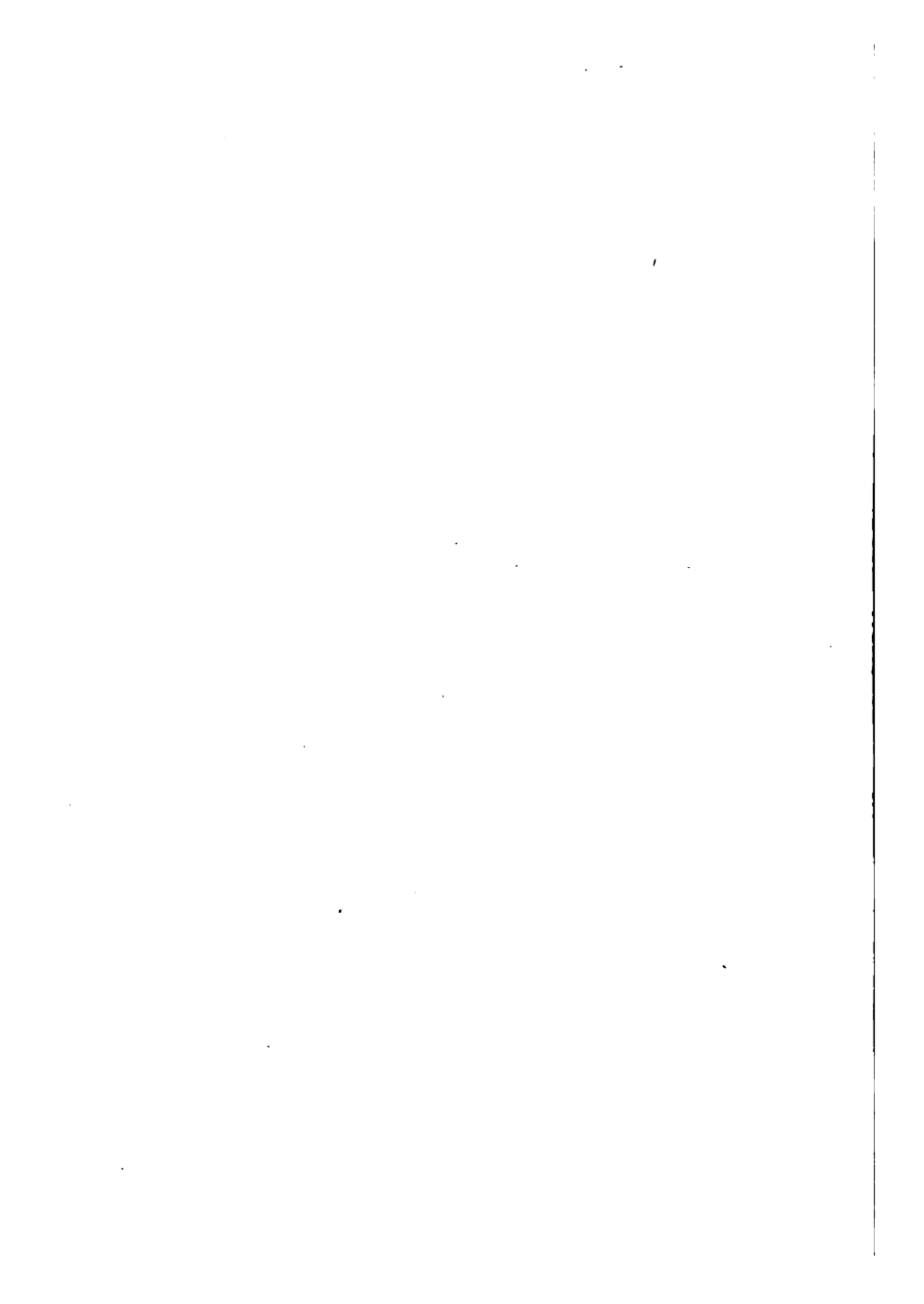
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PREFACE.

THE text of this edition is based on that of Bornemann, to whose readings I have generally returned after comparing them carefully with those of his successors. I am also much indebted to the editions of Breitenbach, Hutchinson, White and others.

The notes will in many cases appear elementary to the advanced scholar, but my experience of the Local Examinations leads me to think they are not on that account unnecessary. Instead of explaining a construction at length, as I have usually done, it might have been more profitable to the student had I been able to refer him to the page in his grammar, but, with so many different grammars in use, this course was found to be impracticable.

PREFACE.

Whenever a longer explanation is required than my space will admit of, a reference will be given to Curtius' smaller Greek Grammar (edited by Dr Smith) —a cheap and compact little work which only needs a complete Index to make it everything that could be desired.

ST CATHARINE'S COLLEGE,

Oct. 1875.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝΤΟΣ

ΚΥΡΟΥ ΑΝΑΒΑΣΙΣ.

Γ'.

CAPUT I.

1. Ὅσα μὲν δὴ ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τῇ μετὰ Κύρου οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔπραξαν μέχρι τῆς μάχης, καὶ ὅσα ἐπεὶ Κύρος ἐτελεύτησεν ἐγένετο ἀπιόντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων σὺν Τις-σαφέρνει ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν λόγῳ δεδή-λωται. 2. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἷ τε στρατηγοὶ συνειλημμένοι ἦσαν καὶ τῶν λοχαγῶν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ συνε-πόμενοι ἀπολώλεσαν, ἐν πολλῇ δὴ ἀπορίᾳ ἦσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐνθυμούμενοι μὲν ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις ἦσαν, κύκλῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντα πολλὰ καὶ ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις πολέμια ἦσαν, ἀγορὰν δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτι παρέ-ξειν ἔμελλεν, ἀπείχον δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος οὐ μείον ἢ μύρια στάδια, ἡγεμῶν δ' οὐδεὶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἦν, ποταμοὶ δὲ διεῖργον ἀδιάβατοι ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ, προὔδεδώκεσαν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ σὺν Κύρῳ ἀναβάντες βάρβαροι, μόνου δὲ καταλελειμμένοι ἦσαν οὐδὲ ἱππέα οὐδένα σύμμαχον ἔχοντες· ὥστ' εὐδηλον ἦν ὅτι νικῶντες μὲν οὐδ' ἂν ἕνα κατακάνοιεν, ἡττηθέντων δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδεὶς ἂν λειφθείη·

3. ταῦτα ἐννοούμενοι καὶ ἀθύμως ἔχοντες, ὀλίγοι μὲν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἐσπέραν σίτου ἐγεύσαντο, ὀλίγοι δὲ πῦρ ἀνέκαυσαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ ὄπλα πολλοὶ οὐκ ἦλθον ταύτην τὴν νύκτα, ἀνεπαύοντο δὲ ὅπου ἐτύγχανεν ἕκαστος, οὐ δυνάμενοι καθεύδειν ὑπὸ λύπης, καὶ πόθου πατριδῶν, γονέων, γυναικῶν, παιδῶν, οὓς οὐποτ' ἐνόμιζον ἔτι ὄψεσθαι. Οὕτω μὲν δὴ διακείμενοι πάντες ἀνεπαύοντο.

4. Ἦν δὲ τις ἐν τῇ στρατιᾷ Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος, ὃς οὔτε στρατηγὸς οὔτε λοχαγὸς οὔτε στρατιώτης ὦν συνηκολούθει, ἀλλὰ Πρόξενος αὐτὸν μετεπέμψατο οἴκοθεν, ξένος ὦν ἀρχαῖος· ὑπισχνεῖτο δὲ αὐτόν, εἰ ἔλθοι, φίλον Κύρῳ ποιήσειν· ὃν αὐτὸς ἔφη κρεῖττω ἑαυτῷ νομίζειν τῆς πατρίδος. 5. Ὁ μέντοι Ξενοφῶν ἀναγνούς τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνακοινοῦται Σωκράτει τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ περὶ τῆς πορείας. Καὶ ὁ Σωκράτης ὑποπτεύσας μὴ τι πρὸς τῆς πόλεως ὑπαίτιον εἴη Κύρῳ φίλον γενέσθαι, ὅτι ἐδόκει ὁ Κύρος προθύμως τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας συμπολεμῆσαι, συμβουλεύει τῷ Ξενοφῶντι ἐλθόντα εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀνακοινῶσαι τῷ θεῷ περὶ τῆς πορείας. 6. Ἐλθὼν δ' ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἐπήρετο τὸν Ἀπόλλω τίνι ἂν θεῶν θύων καὶ εὐχόμενος κάλλιστ' ἂν καὶ ἄριστα ἔλθοι τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν ἐπινοεῖ, καὶ καλῶς πράξας σωθείη. Καὶ ἀνεῖλεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἀπόλλων θεοῖς οἷς ἔδει θύειν. 7. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν ἦλθε, λέγει τὴν μαντείαν τῷ Σωκράτει. Ὁ δ' ἀκούσας ἤτιᾱτο αὐτόν ὅτι οὐ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἠρώτα, πότερον λῶν εἴη αὐτῷ πορεύεσθαι ἢ μένειν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κρίνας ἰτέον εἶναι τοῦτ' ἐπυνθάνετο, ὅπως ἂν κάλλιστα πορευθείη. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι οὕτως ἤρου, ταῦτ', ἔφη, χρὴ ποιεῖν ὅσα ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσεν. 8. Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ξενοφῶν οὕτω θυσάμενος οἷς ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς ἐξέπλει, καὶ καταλαμβάνει ἐν Σάρδεσι Πρόξενον καὶ Κύρον μέλλοντας

ἤδη ὁρμᾶν τὴν ἄνω ὁδόν· καὶ συνεστάθη Κύρῳ. 9. Προθυμουμένον δὲ τοῦ Προξένου καὶ ὁ Κῦρος συμπροϋθυμεῖτο μείναι αὐτόν· εἶπε δὲ ὅτι, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα ἡ στρατεία λήξῃ, εὐθὺς ἀποπέμψειν αὐτόν. Ἐλέγετο δὲ ὁ στόλος εἶναι εἰς Πεισιδάς.

10. Ἐστρατεύετο μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐξαπατηθεῖς, οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ Προξένου· οὐ γὰρ ἤδει τὴν ἐπὶ βασιλέα ὁρμήν, οὐδ' ἄλλος οὐδεὶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πλὴν Κλεάρχου· ἐπεὶ μέντοι εἰς Κιλικίαν ἦλθον, σαφὲς πᾶσιν ἦδη ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι ὁ στόλος εἶη ἐπὶ βασιλέα. Φοβούμενοι δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ ἄκοντες ὅμως οἱ πολλοὶ δι' αἰσχύνην καὶ ἀλλήλων καὶ Κύρου συνηκολούθησαν· ὧν εἰς καὶ Ξενοφῶν ἦν.

11. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπορία ἦν, ἐλυπείτο μὲν σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ οὐκ ἡδύνατο καθεύδειν· μικρὸν δ' ὕπνου λαχὼν εἶδεν ὄναρ. Ἐδοξεν αὐτῷ βροντῆς γενομένης σκηπτὸς πεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πατρῴαν οἰκίαν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου λάμπεσθαι πᾶσαν.

12. Περιφόβος δ' εὐθὺς ἀνηγέρθη, καὶ τὸ ὄναρ πῇ μὲν ἔκρινεν ἀγαθόν, ὅτι ἐν πόνοις ὧν καὶ κινδύνοις φῶς μέγα ἐκ Διὸς ἰδεῖν ἔδοξε· πῇ δὲ καὶ ἐφοβείτο, ὅτι ἀπὸ Διὸς μὲν βασιλέως τὸ ὄναρ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ εἶναι, κύκλῳ δὲ ἐδόκει λάμπεσθαι τὸ πῦρ, μὴ οὐ δύναιτο ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐξελθεῖν τῆς βασιλέως, ἀλλ' εἴργοιτο πάντοθεν ὑπὸ τινων ἀποριῶν.

13. Ὅποιόν τι μὲν δὴ ἐστὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον ὄναρ ἰδεῖν ἔξεστι σκοπεῖν ἐκ τῶν συμβάντων μετὰ τὸ ὄναρ. Γίνεται γὰρ τάδε· εὐθὺς ἐπειδὴ ἀνηγέρθη, πρῶτον μὲν ἔννοια αὐτῷ ἐμπίπτει· τί κατάκειμαι; ἡ δὲ νύξ προβαίνει· ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εἰκὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἤξειν. Εἰ δὲ γενησόμεθα ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ, τί ἐμποδὼν μὴ οὐχὶ πάντα μὲν τὰ χαλεπώτατα ἐπιδόοντας, πάντα δὲ τὰ δεινότερα παθόντας, ὑβριζομένους ἀποθανεῖν; 14. Ὅπως

δ' ἀμυνούμεθα οὐδείς παρασκευάζεται οὐδὲ ἐπιμελείται, ἀλλὰ κατακείμεθα, ὥσπερ ἐξόν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν. Ἐγὼ οὖν τὸν ἐκ ποίας πόλεως στρατηγὸν προσδοκῶ ταῦτα πράξειν; ποίαν δ' ἡλικίαν ἐμαυτῷ ἐλθεῖν ἀναμένω; οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ' ἔτι πρεσβύτερος ἔσομαι, ἐὰν τήμερον προδῶ ἐμαυτὸν τοῖς πολεμίοις. 15. Ἐκ τούτου ἀνίσταται καὶ συγκαλεῖ τοὺς Προξένου πρῶτον λοχαγούς. Ἐπεὶ δὲ συνῆλθον, ἔλεξεν Ἐγὼ, ὦ ἄνδρες λοχαγοί, οὔτε καθεύδειν δύναμαι, ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, οἷδ' ὑμεῖς, οὔτε κατακεῖσθαι ἔτι, ὁρῶν ἐν οἷοις ἐσμέν. 16. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ δὴ πολέμιοι δῆλον ὅτι οὐ πρότερον πρὸς ἡμᾶς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξέφηναν πρὶν ἐνόμισαν καλῶς τὰ ἑαυτῶν παρεσκευάσθαι· ἡμῶν δ' οὐδείς οὐδὲν ἀντεπιμελεῖται ὅπως ὡς κάλλιστα ἀγωνιούμεθα. 17. Καὶ μὴν εἰ ὑψησόμεθα καὶ ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ γενησόμεθα, τί οἰόμεθα πείσεσθαι; ὅς καὶ τοῦ ὁμομητρίου καὶ τοῦ ὁμοπατρίου ἀδελφοῦ καὶ τεθνηκότος ἤδη ἀποτεμῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀνεσταύρωσεν ἡμᾶς δέ, οἷς κηδεμῶν μὲν οὐδείς πάρεστιν, ἐστρατεύσαμεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὡς δοῦλον ἀντὶ βασιλέως ποιήσοντες καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες, εἰ δυναίμεθα, τί ἂν οἰόμεθα παθεῖν; 18. Ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ πᾶν ἔλθοι, ὡς ἡμᾶς τὰ ἔσχατα αἰκισάμενος πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις φόβον παρίσχοι τοῦ μὴ στρατεῦσαί ποτε ἐπ' αὐτόν; Ἄλλ' ὅπως τοι μὴ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γενησόμεθα πάντα ποιητέον. 19. Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ἔστε μὲν αἱ σπονδαὶ ἦσαν, οὐποτε ἐπανόμην ἡμᾶς μὲν οἰκτείρων, βασιλέα δὲ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ μακαρίζων, διαθεώμενος αὐτῶν ὅσῃ μὲν χώραν καὶ οἶαν ἔχοιεν, ὡς δὲ ἄφθονα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὅσους δὲ θεράποντας, ὅσα δὲ κτήνη, χρυσὸν δέ, ἐσθῆτα δέ. 20. τὰ δ' αὖ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὅποτε ἐνθυμοίμην, ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν πάντων οὐδενὸς ἡμῖν μετεῖη, εἰ μὴ πριαίμεθα, ἵτου δ' ὠνησόμεθα

ἥδεν ὅτι ὀλίγους ἔχοντας, ἄλλως δέ πως πορίζεσθαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἢ ὠνούμενους ὄρκους ἤδη κατέχοντας ἡμᾶς ταῦτ' οὖν λογιζόμενος ἐνίοτε τὰς σπονδὰς μᾶλλον ἐφοβούμην ἢ νῦν τὸν πόλεμον. 21. Ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἐκεῖνοι ἔλυσαν τὰς σπονδὰς, λελίσθαι μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἡ ἐκείνων ὕβρις καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα ὑποψία. Ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ ἤδη κεῖται ταῦτα τὰ ἀγαθὰ, αἶθλα, ὁπότεροι ἂν ἡμῶν ἄνδρες ἀμείνονες ὦσιν ἀγωνοθέται δ' οἱ θεοὶ εἰσιν, οἳ σὺν ἡμῖν, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἔσονται. 22. Οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπιωρκήκασιν ἡμεῖς δέ, πολλὰ ὀρώντες ἀγαθὰ, στερβῶς αὐτῶν ἀπειχόμεθα διὰ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὄρκους· ὥστε ἐξεῖναι μοι δοκεῖ ἰέναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα πολὺ σὺν φρονήματι μείζονι ἢ τούτοις. 23. Ἐτι δ' ἔχομεν σώματα ἰκανώτερα τούτων καὶ ψύχη καὶ θάληπη καὶ πόνοους φέρειν· ἔχομεν δέ καὶ ψυχὰς σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμείνονας· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες καὶ τρωτοὶ καὶ θνητοὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῶν, ἣν οἱ θεοί, ὥσπερ τὸ πρόσθεν, νίκην ἡμῖν διδώσιν. 24. Ἄλλ' ἴσως γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι ταῦτα ἐνθυμοῦνται, πρὸς τῶν θεῶν μὴ ἀναμένωμεν ἄλλους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἐλθεῖν, παρακαλοῦντας ἐπὶ τὰ κάλλιστα ἔργα, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ἄρξωμεν τοῦ ἐξορμῆσαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετήν. Φάνητε τῶν λοχαγῶν ἄριστοι καὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀξιοστρατηγότεροι. 25. Καὶ γὰρ δέ, εἰ μὲν ὑμεῖς ἐθέλετε ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ ταῦτα, ἔπεσθαι ὑμῖν βούλομαι· εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς τάττετέ με ἡγείσθαι, οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκμάζειν ἡγοῦμαι ἐρῦκεν ἀπ' ἐμαντοῦ τὰ κακά.

26. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔλεξεν, οἱ δὲ λοχαγοὶ ἀκούσαντες [ταῦτα] ἡγείσθαι ἐκέλευον ἅπαντες· πλὴν Ἀπολλωνίδης τις ἦν, βοιωτιάζων τῇ φωνῇ· οὗτος δ' εἶπεν ὅτι φλυαροίη ὅστις λέγει ἄλλως πως σωτηρίας ἂν τυχεῖν ἢ βασιλέα πείσας, εἰ δύναίτο· καὶ ἅμα ἤρχετο λέγειν

τὰς ἀπορίας. 27. Ὁ μέντοι Ξενοφῶν μεταξὺ ὑπολαβῶν ἔλεξεν ὧδε· ὦ θαυμασιώτατε ἄνθρωπε, σὺ δέ γε οὐδὲ ὁρῶν γινώσκεις, οὐδὲ ἀκούων μέμνησαι. Ἐν ταύτῳ γε μέντοι ἦσθαι τοῦτοις, ὅτε βασιλεὺς, ἐπεὶ Κῦρος ἀπέθανε, μέγα φρονήσας ἐπὶ τούτῳ, πέμπων ἐκέλευε παραδιδόναι τὰ ὅπλα. 28. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμεῖς οὐ παραδόντες, ἀλλ' ἐξωπλισμένοι ἐλθόντες παρεσκηνήσαμεν αὐτῷ, τί οὐκ ἐποίησε πρέσβεις πέμπων καὶ σπονδὰς αἰτῶν καὶ παρέχων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ἔστε σπονδῶν ἔτυχεν; 29. Ἐπεὶ δ' αὖ οἱ στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοί, ὥσπερ δὴ σὺ κελεύεις, εἰς λόγους αὐτοῖς ἄνευ ὅπλων ἦλθον, πιστεύσαντες ταῖς σπονδαῖς, οὐ νῦν ἐκείνοι παιόμενοι, κεντούμενοι, ὕβριζόμενοι, οὐδὲ ἀποθανεῖν οἱ τλήμονες δύνανται; καὶ μάλ', οἶμαι, ἐρῶντες τούτου. Ἄ σὺ πάντα εἰδὼς τοὺς μὲν ἀμύνασθαι κελεύοντας φλυαρεῖν φῆς, πείθειν δὲ πάλιν κελεύεις ἰόντας; 30. Ἐμοί, ὦ ἄνδρες, δοκεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦτον μῆτε προσέσθαι εἰς ταῦτ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀφελομένους τε τὴν λοχαγίαν σκευὴ ἀναθέντας ὡς τοιούτῳ χρῆσθαι. Οὗτος γὰρ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καταισχύνει καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα, ὅτι Ἕλληνας ὦν τοιοῦτός ἐστιν.

31. Ἐντεῦθεν ὑπολαβὼν Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος εἶπεν· Ἀλλὰ τούτῳ γε οὔτε τῆς Βοιωτίας προσήκει οὐδὲν οὔτε τῆς Ἑλλάδος παντάπασιν· ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν εἶδον, ὥσπερ Λυδόν, ἀμφοτέρω τὰ ὦτα τετρυπημένον. Καὶ εἶχεν οὕτως. 32. Τοῦτον μὲν οὖν ἀπήλασαν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι παρὰ τὰς τάξεις ἰόντες, ὅπου μὲν στρατηγὸς σῶος εἴη, τὸν στρατηγὸν παρεκάλουν· ὁπόθεν δὲ οἴχοιτο, τὸν ὑποστρατηγόν· ὅπου δ' αὖ λοχαγὸς σῶος εἴη, τὸν λοχαγόν. 33. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πάντες συνῆλθον, εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν τῶν ὅπλων ἐκαθέζοντο· καὶ ἐγένοντο οἱ συνελθόντες στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατόν. Ὅτε δὲ ταῦτα ἦν

σχεδὸν μέσαι ἦσαν νύκτες. 34. Ἐνταῦθα Ἰερώνυμος Ἠλείος, πρεσβύτατος ὦν τῶν Προξένου λοχαγῶν, ἤρχετο λέγειν ὧδε· Ἡμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοί, ὁρῶσι τὰ παρόντα ἔδοξε καὶ αὐτοῖς συνελθεῖν καὶ ὑμᾶς παρακαλέσαι, ὅπως βουλευσάμεθα εἴ τι δυναίμεθα ἀγαθόν. Λέξον δ', ἔφη, καὶ σύ, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἅπερ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

35. Ἐκ τούτου λέγει τάδε Ξενοφῶν· ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ πάντες ἐπιστάμεθα ὅτι βασιλεὺς καὶ Τισσαφέρνης, οὓς μὲν ἐδυνήθησαν, συνειλήφασιν ἡμῶν· τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις δῆλον ὅτι ἐπιβουλεύουσιν, ὥς, ἣν δύνωνται, ἀπολέσωσιν. Ἡμῖν δέ γ' οἶμαι πάντα ποιητέα ὥς μήποτε ἐπὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις γενώμεθα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ἣν δυνώμεθα, ἐκείνοι ἐφ' ἡμῖν. 36. Εὐ τοίνυν ἐπίστασθε ὅτι ὑμεῖς, τοσοῦτοι ὄντες, ὅσοι νῦν συνεληλύθατε, μέγιστον ἔχετε καιρόν. Οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται πάντες οὗτοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀποβλέπουσι· καὶ μὲν ὑμᾶς ὁρῶσιν ἀθυμοῦντας, πάντες κακοὶ ἔσονται· ἣν δὲ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ τε παρασκευαζόμενοι φανεροὶ ᾗτε ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλῆτε, εὖ ἴστε ὅτι ἔψονται ὑμῖν καὶ πειράσονται μιμείσθαι. 37. Ἴσως δέ τοι καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ὑμᾶς διαφέρειν τι τούτων. Ὑμεῖς γάρ ἐστε στρατηγοί, ὑμεῖς ταξίαρχοι καὶ λοχαγοί· καὶ ὅτε εἰρήνη ᾗν, ὑμεῖς καὶ χρήμασι καὶ τιμαῖς τούτων ἐπλεονεκτεῖτε· καὶ νῦν τοίνυν ἐπεὶ πόλεμός ἐστιν, ἀξιοῦν δεῖ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους τε τοῦ πλήθους εἶναι καὶ προβουλεύειν τούτων καὶ προπονεῖν, ἣν που δέη. 38. Καὶ νῦν πρῶτον μὲν οἶομαι ἂν ὑμᾶς μέγα ὠφελῆσαι τὸ στράτευμα, εἰ ἐπιμεληθεῖητε ὅπως ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ὥς τάχιστα στρατηγοὶ καὶ λοχαγοὶ ἀντικατασταθῶσιν. Ἄνευ γὰρ ἀρχόντων οὐδὲν ἂν οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε ἀγαθὸν γένοιτο, ὥς μὲν συνελόντι

εἰπεῖν, οὐδαμοῦ· ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς παντάπασιν. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ εὐταξία σώζειν δοκεῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀταξία πολλοὺς ἤδη ἀπολώλεκεν. 39. Ἐπειδὴν δὲ καταστήσῃσθε τοὺς ἄρχοντας ὅσους δεῖ, ἦν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας συλλέγητε καὶ παραθαρσύνητε, οἶμαι ἂν ὑμᾶς πάννυ ἐν καιρῷ ποιῆσαι. 40. Νῦν [μὲν] γὰρ ἴσως καὶ ὑμεῖς αἰσθάνεσθε ὡς ἀθύμως μὲν ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, ἀθύμως δὲ πρὸς τὰς φυλακάς· ὥστε, οὕτω γ' ἐχόντων, οὐκ οἶδα ὅ τι ἂν τις χρήσαιτο αὐτοῖς, εἴτε νυκτὸς δέοι τι εἴτε καὶ ἡμέρας. 41. Ἦν δέ τις αὐτῶν τρέψῃ τὰς γνώμας, ὥς μὴ τοῦτο μόνον ἐννοῶνται, τί πείσονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ τί ποιήσουσι, πολὺ εὐθυμότεροι ἔσονται. 42. Ἐπίστασθε γὰρ δήπου ὅτι οὔτε πληθὺς ἐστὶν οὔτε ἰσχύς ἡ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τὰς νίκας ποιοῦσα· ἀλλ' ὁπότεροι ἂν σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐρρωμενέστεροι ἴωσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, τούτους ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ οἱ ἐναντίοι οὐ δέχονται. 43. Ἐντεθύμημαι δ' ἔγωγε, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ τοῦτο, ὅτι, ὁπόσοι μὲν μαστεύουσι ζῆν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς, οὗτοι μὲν κακῶς τε καὶ αἰσχυρῶς ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀποθνήσκουσιν· ὁπόσοι δὲ τὸν μὲν θάνατον ἐγνώκασιν πᾶσι κοινὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἀνθρώποις, περὶ δὲ τοῦ καλῶς ἀποθνήσκειν ἀγωνίζονται, τούτους ὁρῶ μᾶλλον πῶς εἰς τὸ γῆρας ἀφικνουμένους, καὶ, ἕως ἂν ζῶσιν, εὐδαιμονέστερον διάγοντας. 44. Ἄ καὶ ἡμᾶς δεῖ νῦν καταμαθόντας, ἐν τοιούτῳ γὰρ καιρῷ ἐσμέν, αὐτοὺς τε ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλεῖν. Ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἐπαύσατο.

45. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον εἶπε Χειρίσοφος· Ἀλλὰ πρόσθεν μὲν, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, τοσοῦτον μόνον σε ἐγίνωσκον ὅσον ἤκουον Ἀθηναίον εἶναι· νῦν δὲ καὶ ἐπαινῶ σε ἐφ' οἷς λέγεις τε καὶ πράττεις, καὶ βουλομένην ἂν ὅτι πλείστους

εἶναι τοιούτους· κοινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη τὸ ἀγαθόν. 46. Καὶ νῦν, ἔφη, μὴ μέλλωμεν, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἀλλ' ἀπελθόντες ἤδη αἰρεῖσθε οἱ δεόμενοι ἄρχοντας, καὶ ἐλόμενοι ἦκετε εἰς τὸ μέσον τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τοὺς αἰρεθέντας ἄγετε· ἔπειτ' ἐκεῖ συγκαλοῦμεν τοὺς ἄλλους στρατιώτας· παρέστω δ' ἡμῖν, ἔφη, καὶ Τολμίδης ὁ κήρυξ. 47. Καὶ ἅμα ταύτ' εἰπὼν ἀνέστη, ὥς μὴ μέλλοιτο ἀλλὰ περαίνοιτο τὰ δέοντα. Ἐκ τούτου ἡρέθησαν ἄρχοντες ἀντὶ μὲν Κλεάρχου Τιμασίων Δαρδανεύς, ἀντὶ δὲ Σωκράτους Ξανθικλῆς Ἀχαιοός, ἀντὶ δὲ Ἀγίου Ἀρκάδος Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος, ἀντὶ δὲ Μένωνος Φιλῆσιος Ἀχαιοός, ἀντὶ δὲ Προξένου Ξενοφῶν Ἀθηναῖος.

CAPUT II.

1. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤρηντο, ἡμέρα τε σχεδὸν ὑπέφαινε καὶ εἰς τὸ μέσον ἦκον οἱ ἄρχοντες· καὶ ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς προφυλακὰς καταστήσαντας συγκαλεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας. Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι στρατιῶται συνήλθον, ἀνέστη πρῶτον μὲν Χειρίσοφος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος καὶ ἔλεξεν ἕδε· 2. Ὡ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, χαλεπὰ μὲν τὰ παρόντα, ὅποτε ἀνδρῶν στρατηγῶν τοιούτων στερόμεθα καὶ λοχαγῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν· πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀριαῖον, οἱ πρόσθεν σύμμαχοι ὄντες, προδεδώκασιν ἡμᾶς. 3. Ὅμως δὲ δεῖ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἀνδρας ἀγαθοὺς τε ἐλθεῖν καὶ μὴ ὑφίεσθαι, ἀλλὰ πειρᾶσθαι ὅπως, ἣν μὲν δυνώμεθα, καλῶς νικῶντες σωζώμεθα· εἰ δὲ μή, ἀλλὰ καλῶς γε ἀποθνήσκωμεν, ὑποχείριοι δὲ μήποτε γενώμεθα ζῶντες τοῖς πολεμίοις· οἶομαι γὰρ ἂν ἡμᾶς τοιαῦτα παθεῖν οἷα τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οἱ θεοὶ ποιήσειαν.

4. Ἐπὶ τούτῳ Κλεάνωρ Ὀρχομένιος ἀνέστη, καὶ ἔλεξεν ὧδε· Ἄλλ' ὁράτε μὲν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὴν βασιλέως ἐπιorkίαν καὶ ἀσέβειαν· ὁράτε δὲ τὴν Τισσαφέρνους ἀπιστίαν, ὅστις λέγων ὡς γείτων τε εἶη τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ περὶ πλείστου ἂν ποιήσαιτο σῶσαι ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτὸς ὁμόσας ἡμῖν, αὐτὸς δεξιὰς δούς, αὐτὸς ἐξαπατήσας συνέλαβε τοὺς στρατηγούς, καὶ οὐδὲ Δία Ξένιον ἡδέσθη, ἀλλὰ Κλεάρχῳ (γε) καὶ ὁμοτράπεζος γενόμενος, αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἐξαπατήσας τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπολώλεκεν. 5. Ἀριαῖος δὲ, ὃν ἡμεῖς ἠθέλομεν βασιλέα καθιστάναι, καὶ ἐδώκαμεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν πιστὰ μὴ προδώσειν ἀλλήλους, καὶ οὗτος, οὔτε τοὺς θεοὺς δείσας οὔτε Κύρον τεθηκίτα αἰδεσθεῖς, τιμώμενος μάλιστα ὑπὸ Κύρου ζῶντος, νῦν πρὶς τοὺς ἐκείνου ἐχθίστους ἀποστὰς ἡμᾶς τοὺς Κύρου φίλους κακῶς ποιεῖν πειρᾶται. 6. Ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν οἱ θεοὶ ἀποτίσαιντο· ἡμᾶς δὲ δεῖ, ταῦτα ὁρῶντας, μήποτε ἐξαπατηθῆναι ἔτι ὑπὸ τούτων, ἀλλὰ μαχομένους ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κράτιστα τοῦτο ὃ τι ἂν δοκῇ τοῖς θεοῖς πύσχειν.

7. Ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶν ἀνίσταται ἐσταλμένος ἐπὶ πόλεμον ὡς ἐδύνατο κάλλιστα, νομίζων, εἴτε νίκην διδοῖεν οἱ θεοί, τὸν κάλλιστον κόσμον τῷ νικᾷν πρόπειν, εἴτε τελευτᾷν δέοι, ὀρθῶς ἔχειν τῶν καλλίστων ἑαυτὸν ἀξιώσαντα ἐν τούτοις τῆς τελευτῆς τυγχάνειν· τοῦ λόγου δὲ ἤρχετο ὧδε· 8. Τὴν μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιorkίαν τε καὶ ἀπιστίαν λέγει μὲν Κλεάνωρ, ἐπίστασθε δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς, οἶμαι. Εἰ μὲν οὖν βουλευόμεθα πάλιν αὐτοῖς διὰ φιλίας ἰέναι, ἀνάγκη ἡμᾶς πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν ἔχειν, ὁρῶντας καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς, οἱ διὰ πίστεως αὐτοῖς ἑαυτοὺς ἐνεχείρισαν, οἷα πεπόνθασιν· εἰ μέντοι διανοούμεθα σὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὧν τε πεποιήκασι δίκην ἐπιθεῖναι

αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διὰ παντὶς πολέμου αὐτοῖς ἵεναι, σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς πολλὰ ἡμῖν καὶ καλὰ ἐλπίδες εἰσὶ σωτηρίας. 9. Τοῦτο δὲ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ πτάρνυται τις· ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται πάντες μᾶ ὄρμῃ προσεκύνησαν τὸν θεόν· καὶ ὁ Ξενοφῶν εἶπε· Δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ περὶ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν λεγόντων οἰωνὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτήρος ἐφάνη, εὐξασθαι τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ θύσειν σωτήρια ὅπου ἂν πρῶτον εἰς φιλίαν χώραν ἀφικώμεθα· συνεπύξασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς θύσειν κατὰ δύναν· Καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτ', ἔφη, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. Καὶ ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. Ἐκ τούτου εὐξαντο καὶ ἐπαιώνισαν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλῶς εἶχεν, ἤρχετο πάλιν ὧδε·

10. Ἐτύγχανον λέγων ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἐλπίδες ἡμῖν εἴεν σωτηρίας. Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐμπεδοῦμεν τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὄρκους, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐπιωρκήκασι τε καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τοὺς ὄρκους λελύκασιν. Οὕτω δ' ἐχόντων εἰκὸς τοῖς μὲν πολεμίοις ἐναντίους εἶναι τοὺς θεοὺς, ἡμῖν δὲ συμμάχους, οἵπερ ἱκανοὶ εἰσι καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους ταχὺ μικροὺς ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς μικροὺς κἂν ἐν δεινοῖς ὥσι σώζειν εὐπετῶς, ὅταν βούλωνται. 11. Ἐπειτα δέ—ἀναμνήσω γὰρ ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς τῶν προγόνων τῶν ἡμετέρων κινδύνους, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὡς ἀγαθοὺς τε ὑμῖν προσήκει εἶναι, σώζονται τε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ἐκ πάντων δεινῶν οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ἐλθόντων μὲν γὰρ Περσῶν καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς παμπληθεὶ στόλῳ ὡς ἀφανιούντων αὐθις τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑποστήναι αὐτοῖς Ἀθηναῖοι τολμήσαντες ἐνίκησαν αὐτούς. 12. Καὶ εἰζόμενοι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ὀπίσους ἂν κατακάνοιεν τῶν πολεμίων, τοσαύτας χιμαῖρας καταθύσειν τῇ θεῷ, ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἶχον ἱκανὰς εὐρεῖν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πεντακοσ.ας

θύειν· καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἀποθύουσιν. 13. Ἐπειτα ὅτε
 Ξέρξης ὕστερον ἀγείρας τὴν ἀναρίθμητον στρατιὰν
 ἦλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ τότε ἐνίκων οἱ ἡμέτεροι
 πρόγονοι τοὺς τούτων προγόνους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ
 κατὰ θάλατταν. Ὡν ἔστι μὲν τεκμήρια ὁρᾶν τὰ τρό-
 παια, μέγιστον δὲ μαρτύριον ἡ ἐλευθερία τῶν πόλεων
 ἐν αἷς ὑμεῖς ἐγένεσθε καὶ ἐτράφητε· οὐδένα γὰρ ἄνθρω-
 πον δεσπότην ἀλλὰ τοὺς θεοὺς προσκυνεῖτε. Τοιούτων
 μὲν ἔστε προγόνων. 14. Οὐ μὲν δὴ τοῦτό γε ἐρῶ, ὥς
 ὑμεῖς καταισχύνετε αὐτούς· ἀλλ' οἷπω πολλαὶ ἡμέραι
 ἀφ' οὗ ἀντιταξάμενοι τούτοις τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐκγόνοις
 πολλαπλασίους ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐνικᾶτε σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς.
 15. Καὶ τότε μὲν δὴ περὶ τῆς Κύρου βασιλείας ἄνδρες
 ἦτε ἀγαθοί· νῦν δ', ὁπότε περὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας
 ὁ ἀγὼν ἔστι, πολὺ δήπου ὑμᾶς προσήκει καὶ ἀμείνοντας
 καὶ προθυμότερους εἶναι. 16. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ θάρσα-
 λεωτέρους νῦν πρέπει εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. Τότε
 μὲν γὰρ ἄπειροι ὄντες αὐτῶν, τό τε πλῆθος ἄμετρον
 ὁρῶντες, ὅμως ἐτολμήσατε σὺν τῷ πατρὶ φρονήματι
 ἰέναι εἰς αὐτούς· νῦν δὲ ὁπότε καὶ πείραν ἤδη ἔχετε
 αὐτῶν, ὅτι θέλουσι καὶ πολλαπλάσιοι ὄντες μὴ δέχεσθαι
 ὑμᾶς, τί ἔτι ὑμῖν προσήκει τοιούτους φοβεῖσθαι; 17. Μηδὲ
 μέντοι τοῦτο μείον δόξητε ἔχειν, εἰ οἱ Κυρεῖοι πρόσθεν
 σὺν ἡμῖν ταττόμενοι νῦν ἀφεστήκασιν· ἔτι γὰρ οὗτοι
 κακίονές εἰσι τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἡττημένων· ἐφευγον γοῦν
 πρὸς ἐκείνους καταλιπόντες ἡμᾶς. Τοὺς δὲ ἐθέλοντας
 φυγῆς ἄρχειν πολὺ κρεῖττον σὺν τοῖς πολεμίοις ταττο-
 μένους ἢ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τάξει ὁρᾶν. 18. Εἰ δέ τις αὖ
 ὑμῶν ἀθυμεῖ ὅτι ἡμῖν μὲν οὐκ εἰσὶν ἵππεῖς, τοῖς δὲ πολε-
 μίοις πολλοὶ πάρεισιν, ἐνθυμήθητε ὅτι οἱ μύριοι ἵππεῖς
 οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ μύριοι εἰσιν ἄνθρωποι· ὑπὸ μὲν γὰρ

ἵππου ἐν μάχῃ οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτε δηχθεὶς οὔτε λακτισ-
 θεὶς ἀπέθανεν· οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰσὶν οἱ ποιοῦντες ὃ τι ἂν
 ἐν ταῖς μάχαις γίγνηται. 19. Οὐκοῦν τῶν γε ἱππέων
 πολὺ ἡμεῖς ἐπ' ἀσφαλεστέρου ὀχήματός ἐσμεν· οἱ μὲν
 γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππων κρέμονται, φοβούμενοι οὐχ ἡμᾶς μόνον
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ καταπεσεῖν· ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς βεβηκότες
 πολὺ μὲν ἰσχυρότερον παῖσομεν, ἣν τις προσίῃ, πολὺ
 δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ὕτου ἂν βουλώμεθα τευξόμεθα· Ἐνὶ δὲ
 μόνῳ προέχουσιν οἱ ἱππεῖς ἡμᾶς· φεύγειν αὐτοῖς ἀσ-
 φαλέστερόν ἐστιν ἢ ἡμῖν. 20. Εἰ δὲ δὴ τὰς μὲν μάχας
 θαρρύνετε, ὅτι δὲ οὐκέτι ὑμῖν Τισσαφέρνης ἡγήσεται
 οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς ἀγορὰν παρέξει, τοῦτο ἄχθεσθε, σκέψασθε
 πότερον κρεῖττον Τισσαφέρνην ἡγεμόνα ἔχειν, ὃς ἐπι-
 βουλευὼν ἡμῖν φανερός ἐστιν, ἢ οὓς ἂν ἡμεῖς ἄνδρας
 λαβόντες ἡγείσθαι κελεύωμεν· οἱ εἰσονται ὅτι, ἣν τι
 περὶ ἡμᾶς ἀμαρτάνωσι, περὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ψυχὰς καὶ τὰ
 σώματα ἀμαρτάνουσι. 21. Τὰ δὲ ἐπιτήδεια πότερον
 ὠνεῖσθαι κρεῖττον ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἣς οὗτοι παρέιχον,
 μικρὰ μέτρα πολλοῦ ἀργυρίου, μὴδὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἔχοντας, ἢ
 αὐτοὺς λαμβάνειν, ἣν περ κρατῶμεν, μέτρῳ χρωμένους
 ὁπόσῳ ἂν ἕκαστος βούληται. 22. Εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν
 γινώσκετε ὅτι [οὕτω] κρεῖττονα, τοὺς δὲ ποταμούς
 ἄπορον νομίζετε εἶναι καὶ μεγάλως ἡγείσθε ἐξαπατηθῆ-
 ναι διαβάντες, σκέψασθε εἰ ἄρα τοῦτο καὶ μωρότατον
 πεποιήκασιν οἱ βάρβαροι. Πάντες μὲν γὰρ οἱ ποταμοί,
 εἰ καὶ πρόσω τῶν πηγῶν ἄποροι ὦσι, προϊοῦσι πρὸς
 τὰς πηγὰς διαβατοὶ γίνονται οὐδὲ τὸ γόνυ βρέχοντες.
 23. Εἰ δὲ μήθ' οἱ ποταμοὶ διοίσουσιν ἡγεμῶν τε μηδεὶς
 ἡμῖν φανείται, οὐδ' ὥς ἡμῖν γε ἀθυμητέον. Ἐπιστάμεθα
 γὰρ Μυσσοῦς, οὓς οὐκ ἂν ἡμῶν φαίμεν βελτίους εἶναι, οἱ
 βασιλέως ἄκοντος ἐν τῇ βασιλέως χώρα πολλὰς τε καὶ

εὐδαίμονας καὶ μεγάλας πόλεις οἰκοῦσιν· ἐπιστάμεθα δὲ Πεισίδας ὡσαύτως. Λυκίονας δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ εἶδομεν ὅτι ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τὰ ἐρυμνὰ καταλαβόντες τὴν τούτων χώραν καρποῦνται. 24. Καὶ ἡμᾶς δ' ἂν ἔφην ἔγωγε χρῆναι μήπω φανεροὺς εἶναι οἴκαδε ὠρμημένους, ἀλλὰ κατασκευάζεσθαι ὡς αὐτοῦ που οἰκήσοντας. Οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι καὶ Μυσοῖς βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς μὲν ἡγεμόνας ἂν δοίη, πολλοὺς δ' ἂν ὁμήρους τοῦ ἀδόλως ἐκπέμψειν· καὶ ὁδοποιήσῃε γ' ἂν αὐτοῖς, καὶ εἰ σὺν τεθρίπποις βούλοιτο ἀπιέναι. Καὶ ἡμῖν γ' ἂν οἶδ' ὅτι τρισάσμενος ταῦτ' ἐποίει, εἰ ἑώρα ἡμᾶς μένειν παρασκευαζομένους. 25. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ δέδοικα μή, ἂν ἅπαξ μάθωμεν ἀργοὶ ζῆν καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις βιοτεύειν, καὶ Μήδων δὲ καὶ Περσῶν καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις γυναιξὶ καὶ παρθένοις ὁμιλεῖν, μή, ὥσπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι, ἐπιλαθώμεθα τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ. 26. Δοκεῖ οὖν μοι εἰκὸς καὶ δίκαιον εἶναι πρῶτον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκέλους πειρᾶσθαι ἀφικνεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐπιδείξαι τοῖς Ἑλλησιν ὅτι ἐκόντες πένονται ἔξον αὐτοῖς τοὺς νῦν οἴκοι ἀκλήρους πολιτεύοντας ἐνθάδε κομισαμένους πλουσίους ὄραν. Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες, πάντα ταῦτα τὰγαθὰ δῆλον ὅτι τῶν κρατούντων ἐστί. 27. Τοῦτο δὲ δεῖ λέγειν, πῶς ἂν πορευοίμεθά τε ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα καί, εἰ μάχεσθαι δεοί, ὡς κράτιστα μαχοίμεθα. Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι κατακαῦσαι τὰς ἀμάξας ἃς ἔχομεν, ἵνα μὴ τὰ ζεῦγῃ ἡμῶν στρατηγῇ, ἀλλὰ πορευώμεθα ὅπη ἂν τῇ στρατιᾷ συμφέρῃ· ἔπειτα καὶ τὰς σκηναὺς συγκατακαῦσαι. Αὗται γὰρ αὖ ὄχλον μὲν παρέχουσιν ἄγειν, συνωφελοῦσι δ' οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰς τὸ μάχεσθαι οὐτ' εἰς τὸ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχειν. 28. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σκευῶν τὰ περισσὰ ἀπαλλάξωμεν, πλὴν ὅσα πολέμου ἔνεκεν ἡ

σίτων ἢ ποτῶν ἔχομεν, ἵνα ὡς πλείστοι μὲν ἡμῶν ἐν τοῖς ὕπλοις ὦσιν, ὡς ἐλάχιστοι δὲ σκευοφορῶσι. Κρατουμένων μὲν γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ὅτι πάντα ἀλλότρια· ἦν δὲ κρατῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους δεῖ σκευοφόρους ἡμετέρους νομίζειν. 29. Λοιπὸν μοι εἰπεῖν ὅπερ καὶ μέγιστον νομίζω εἶναι. Ὅρατε γὰρ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ὅτι οὐ πρόσθεν ἐξευεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς πόλεμον πρὶν τοὺς στρατηγούς ἡμῶν συνέλαβον, νομίζοντες ὄντων μὲν τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἡμῶν πειθομένων ἱκανοὺς εἶναι ἡμᾶς περιγενέσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ· λαβόντες δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀναρχία ἂν καὶ ἀταξία ἐνόμιζον ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσθαι. 30. Δεῖ οὖν πολὺ μὲν τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐπιμελεστέρους γενέσθαι τοὺς νῦν τῶν πρόσθεν, πολὺ δὲ τοὺς ἀρχομένους εὐτακτοτέρους καὶ πειθομένους μᾶλλον τοῖς ἄρχουσι νῦν ἢ πρόσθεν. 31. Ἦν δέ τις ἀπειθῇ, ἦν ψηφίσησθε τὸν αἰὲ ὑμῶν ἐντυγχάνοντα σὺν τῷ ἄρχοντι κολάζειν, οὕτως οἱ πολέμιοι πλείστον ἐψευσμένοι ἔσονται· τῇδε γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ μύριους ὄψονται ἀνθ' ἐνὸς Κλεάρχους, τοὺς οὐδ' ἐνὶ ἐπιτρέψοντας κακῶ εἶναι. 32. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ περαίνειν ἤδη ὥρα· ἴσως γὰρ οἱ πολέμιοι αὐτίκα παρέρχονται. Ὅτῳ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα δοκεῖ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐπικυρωσάτω ὡς τάχιστα, ἵνα ἔργῳ περαίνηται· εἰ δὲ τι ἄλλο βέλτιον ἢ ταύτη, τολμάτω καὶ ὁ ἰδιώτης διδάσκειν· πάντες γὰρ κοινῆς σωτηρίας δεόμεθα.

33. Μετὰ ταῦτα Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν· Ἄλλ' εἰ μὲν τινος ἄλλου δεῖ πρὸς τούτοις οἷς εἶπε Ξενοφῶν, καὶ αὐτίκα ἐξέσται ποιεῖν· ἂν δὲ νῦν εἴρηκε δοκεῖ μοι ὡς τάχιστα ψηφίσασθαι ἄριστον εἶναι· καὶ ὅτῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα. Ἀνέτειναν ἅπαντες. 34. Ἀναστὰς δὲ πάλιν εἶπε Ξενοφῶν· Ὡ ἄνδρες, ἀκούσατε ὧν προσδοκᾶν δοκεῖ μοι. Δῆλον ὅτι πορεύεσθαι

ἡμᾶς δὲ ὅπου ἔξομεν τὰ ἐπιτίδεια. Ἀκούω δὲ κώμας
 εἶναι καλὰς οὐ πλεῖον εἴκοσι σταδίων ἀπεχούσας. 35.
 Οὐκ ἂν οὖν θαυμάζοιμι εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὥσπερ οἱ δειλοὶ
 κύνες τοὺς μὲν παριόντας διώκουσιν τε καὶ δάκνουσιν,
 ἣν δύνωνται, τοὺς δὲ διώκοντας φεύγουσιν, εἰ καὶ αὐτοὶ
 ἡμῖν ἀπιούσιν ἐπακολουθοῖεν. 36. Ἴσως οὖν ἀσφαλέσ-
 τερον ἡμῖν πορεύεσθαι πλαίσιον ποιησαμένους τῶν
 ὅπλων, ἵνα τὰ σκευοφόρα καὶ ὁ πολὺς ὄχλος ἐν ἀσ-
 φαλεστέρῳ †εῖη†. Εἰ οὖν νῦν ἀποδειχθεῖν τίνα χρῆ
 ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦ πλαισίου καὶ τὰ πρόσθεν κοσμεῖν, καὶ
 τίνας ἐπὶ τῶν πλευρῶν ἐκατέρων εἶναι, τίνας δ' ὀπισθο-
 φυλακεῖν, οὐκ ἂν, ὅποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἔλθοιεν, βουλευέσ-
 θαι ἡμᾶς δέοι, ἀλλὰ χρῶμεθ' ἂν εὐθύς τοῖς τεταγμένοις.
 37. Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλος τις βέλτιον ὄρᾳ, ἄλλως ἐχέτω·
 εἰ δὲ μή, Χειρίσσοφος μὲν ἡγείσθω, ἐπεὶ καὶ Λακεδαι-
 μονίος ἐστὶ τῶν δὲ πλευρῶν ἐκατέρων δύο τῶν πρεσ-
 βυτάτων στρατηγῶν ἐπιμελείσθων· ὀπισθοφυλακῶμεν
 δὲ ἡμεῖς οἱ νεώτεροι, ἐγὼ τε καὶ Τιμασίω, τὸ νῦν εἶναι.
 38. Τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πειρώμενοι ταύτης τῆς τάξεως βου-
 λευσόμεθα ὅ τι ἂν αἰεὶ κράτιστον δοκοίη εἶναι. Εἰ δέ
 τις ἄλλο ὄρᾳ βέλτιον, λεξάτω. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδεὶς ἀντέ-
 λεγεν, εἶπεν· Ὅτε δοκεῖ ταῦτα, ἀνατεινάτω τὴν χεῖρα.
 Ἔδοξε ταῦτα. 39. Νῦν τοίνυν ἔφη, ἀπιόντας ποιεῖν
 δεῖ τὰ δεδογμένα· καὶ ὅστις τε ὑμῶν τοὺς οἰκείους ἐπι-
 θυμεῖ ἰδεῖν, μεμνήσθω ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶν
 ἄλλως τούτου τυχεῖν· ὅστις τε ζῆν ἐπιθυμεῖ, πειράσθω
 νικᾶν· τῶν μὲν γὰρ νικῶντων τὸ κατακαίνειν, τῶν δὲ
 ἡττωμένων τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν ἐστὶ. Καὶ εἴ τις δὲ χρη-
 μάτων ἐπιθυμεῖ, κρατεῖν πειράσθω· τῶν γὰρ νικῶντων
 ἐστὶ καὶ τὰ ἐαυτῶν σώζειν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἡττωμένων λαμ-
 βάνειν.

CAPUT III.

1. Τούτων λεχθέντων ἀνέστησαν, καὶ ἀπελθόντες κατέκαιον τὰς ἀμάξας καὶ τὰς σκηνάς· τῶν δὲ περιιτῶν ὅτου μὲν δέαιτό τις μετεδίδοσαν ἀλλήλοις, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐρρίπτουν. Ταῦτα ποιήσαντες ἡριστοποιοῦντο. Ἀριστοποιουμένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἔρχεται Μιθριδάτης σὺν ἱππεύσιν ὡς τριάκοντα, καὶ καλεσάμενος τοὺς στρατηγοὺς εἰς ἐπήκοον λέγει ὧδε· 2. Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, καὶ Κύρῳ πιστὸς ἦν, ὡς ὑμεῖς ἐπίστασθε, καὶ νῦν ὑμῖν εὖνους· καὶ ἐνθάδε δ' εἰμι σὺν πολλῷ φόβῳ διάγων. Εἰ οὖν ὁρῶν ὑμᾶς σωτήριόν τι βουλευομένους, ἔλθοιμι ἂν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τοὺς θεράποντας πάντας ἔχων. Λέξατε οὖν, ἔφη, πρὸς με τί ἐν νῷ ἔχετε ὡς πρὸς φίλον τε καὶ εὖνουν καὶ βουλόμενον κοινῇ σὺν ἡμῖν τὸν στόλον ποιῆσθαι. 3. Βουλευομένοις τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἔδοξεν ἀποκρίνασθαι τάδε· καὶ ἔλεγε Χειρίσοφος· Ἡμῖν δοκεῖ, εἰ μὲν τις ἐᾷ ἡμᾶς ἀπιέναι οἴκαδε, διαπορεύεσθαι τὴν χώραν ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα ἀσυνέστατα· ἦν δὲ τις ἡμᾶς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀποκωλύη, διαπολεμεῖν τούτῳ, ὡς ἂν δυνώμεθα κράτιστα. 4. Ἐκ τούτου ἐπειρᾶτο Μιθριδάτης διδάσκειν ὡς ἄπορον εἶη βασιλέως ἄκουτος σωθῆναι. Ἐνθα δὲ ἐγγινώσκετο ὅτι ὑπόπεμπτος εἶη· καὶ γὰρ τῶν Τισσαφέρνους τις οἰκείων παρηκολούθει πίστεως ἕνεκα. 5. Καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐδόκει τοῖς στρατηγοῖς βέλτιον εἶναι δόγμα ποιήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον εἶναι ἔστε ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ εἶεν. διέφθειρον γὰρ προσίοντες τοὺς στρατιώτας, καὶ ἓνα γε λοχαγὸν διέφθειραν, Νίκαρχον Ἀρκάδα· καὶ ὄχλητο ἀπὸ νυκτὸς σὺν ἀνθρώποις ὡς εἴκοσι.

6. Μετὰ ταῦτα ἀριστήσαντες καὶ διαβύντες τὸν Ζάβατον ποταμὸν ἐπορεύοντο τεταγμένοι, τὰ ὑποζύγια καὶ τὸν ὄχλον ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἔχοντες. Οὐ πολὺ δὲ προεληλυθότων αὐτῶν, ἐπιφαίνεται πάλιν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἰππέας ἔχων ὡς διακοσίους, καὶ τοξίτας καὶ σφενδονήτας εἰς τετρακοσίους μάλα ἐλαφροὺς καὶ εὐζώνους· καὶ προσήει μὲν ὡς φίλος ὦν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. 7. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένοντο, ἐξαπίνης οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐτόξευον καὶ ἰππεῖς καὶ πεζοί, οἱ δ' ἐσφενδόνων καὶ ἐτίτρωσκον. Οἱ δὲ ὀπισθοφύλακες τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔπασχον μὲν κακῶς, ἀντεποιοῦν δ' οὐδέν· οἳ τε γὰρ Κρήτες βραχύτερα τῶν Περσῶν ἐτόξευον καὶ ἅμα ψιλοὶ ὄντες εἰσω τῶν ὕπλων κατεκέκλειντο· οἳ τε ἀκοντισταὶ βραχύτερα ἡκόντιζον ἢ ὡς ἐξικνεῖσθαι τῶν σφενδονητῶν. 8. Ἐκ τούτου Ξενοφῶντι ἐδόκει διωκτέον εἶναι· καὶ ἐδίωκον τῶν τε ἱπλιτῶν καὶ τῶν πελταστῶν οἱ ἔτυχον σὺν αὐτῷ ὀπισθοφυλακοῦντες· διώκοντες δὲ οὐδένα κατελάμβανον τῶν πολεμίων. 9. Οὔτε γὰρ ἰππεῖς ἦσαν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, οὔτε οἱ πεζοὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐκ πολλοῦ φεύγοντας ἐδύναντο καταλαμβάνειν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χωρίῳ· πολὺ γὰρ οὐχ οἶόν τε ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατεύματος διώκειν. 10. Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι ἰππεῖς καὶ φεύγοντες ἅμα ἐτίτρωσκον, εἰς τοῦπισθεν τοξεύοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων· ὅποσον δὲ προδιάξειαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, τοσοῦτον πάλιν ἐπαναχωρεῖν μαχομένους ἔδει. 11. Ὡστε τῆς ἡμέρας ὅλης διήλθον οὐ πλέον πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίων, ἀλλὰ δείλης ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κόμας. Ἐνθα δὴ πάλιν ἀθυμία ἦν. Καὶ Χειρίσοφος καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτατοι τῶν στρατηγῶν Ξενοφῶντα ᾗτιῶντο ὅτι ἐδίωκεν ἀπὸ τῆς φάλαγγος, καὶ αὐτός τε ἐκινδύνευε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἡδύνατο βλάπτειν.

12. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἔλεγεν ὅτι ὀρθῶς ᾔτιώντο, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον αὐτοῖς μαρτυροίη. Ἄλλ' ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἡναγκάσθην διώκειν, ἐπειδὴ ἐώρων ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ μένειν κακῶς μὲν πάσχοντας, ἀντιποιεῖν δ' οὐδὲν δυναμένους. 13. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐδιώκομεν, ἀληθῆ, ἔφη, ὑμεῖς λέγετε. κακῶς μὲν γὰρ ποιεῖν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐδυνάμεθα τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀνεχωροῦμεν δὲ πάνυ χαλεπῶς. 14. Τοῖς οὖν θεοῖς χάρις ὅτι οὐ σὺν πολλῇ ῥώμῃ, ἀλλὰ σὺν ὀλίγοις ἦλθον· ὥστε βλάψαι μὲν μὴ μεγάλα, δηλώσαι δὲ ὧν δεῖμεθα. 15. Νῦν γὰρ οἱ μὲν πολέμοι τοξεύουσι καὶ σφενδονῶσιν ὕσον οὔτε οἱ Κρήτες ἀντιτοξεύειν δύνανται οὔτε οἱ ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλοντες ἐξικνεῖσθαι· ὅταν δὲ αὐτοὺς διώκωμεν, πολὺ μὲν οὐχ οἶόν τε χωρίον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατεύματος διώκειν, ἐν ὀλίγῳ δέ, οὐδ' εἰ ταχὺς εἴη, πεζὸς πεζὸν ἂν διώκων καταλάβοι ἐκ τόξου ῥύματος. 16. Ἡμεῖς οὖν εἰ μέλλοιμεν τούτους εἵργειν, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι βλάπτειν ἡμᾶς πορευομένους, σφενδονητῶν τε τὴν ταχίστην δεῖ καὶ ἱππέων. Ἀκούω δ' εἶναι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι ἡμῶν Ῥοδίους, ὧν τοὺς πολλοὺς φασιν ἐπίστασθαι σφενδονᾶν, καὶ τὸ βέλος αὐτῶν καὶ διπλάσιον φέρεσθαι τῶν Περσικῶν σφενδονῶν. 17. Ἐκεῖναι γάρ, διὰ τὸ χειροπληθέσι τοῖς λίθοις σφενδονᾶν, ἐπὶ βραχὺ ἐξικνοῦνται· οἱ δέ γε Ῥόδιοι καὶ ταῖς μολυβδίσιν ἐπίστανται χρῆσθαι. 18. Ἦν οὖν αὐτῶν ἐπισκεψώμεθα τίνες πέπανται σφενδόνας, καὶ τούτῳ μὲν δώμεν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον, τῷ δὲ ἄλλας πλέκειν ἐθέλοντι ἄλλο ἀργύριον τελῶμεν, καὶ τῷ σφενδονᾶν ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ ἐθέλοντι ἄλλην τινα ἀτέλειαν εὐρίσκωμεν, ἴσως τινὲς φανοῦνται ἱκανοὶ ἡμᾶς ὠφελεῖν. 19. Ὅρῳ δὲ καὶ ἵππους ὄντας ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι, τοὺς μὲν τινὰς παρ' ἐμοί, τοὺς δὲ τῷ Κλεάρχῳ καταλελειμμένους· πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἄλλους

αἰχμαλώτους σκευοφοροῦντας. Ἄν οὖν τούτους πάντας ἐκλέξαντες σκευοφόρα μὲν ἀντιδῶμεν, τοὺς δὲ ἵππους εἰς ἱππέας κατασκευάσωμεν, ἴσως καὶ οὗτοί τι τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀνιάσουσιν. 20. Ἔδοξε ταῦτα· καὶ ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς σφενδονῆται μὲν εἰς διακοσίους ἐγένοντο, ἵπποι δὲ καὶ ἱππεῖς ἐδοκιμάσθησαν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ εἰς πεντήκοντα, καὶ στολάδες καὶ θώρακες αὐτοῖς ἐπορίσθησαν· καὶ ἵππαρχος δὲ ἐπεστάθη Λύκιος ὁ Πολυστράτου Ἀθηναῖος.

CAPUT IV.

1. Μείναντες δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν, τῇ ἄλλῃ ἐπορεύοντο πρωΐτερον ἀναστάντες· χαράδραν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἔδει διαβῆναι, ἐφ' ἣ ἐφοβοῦντο μὴ ἐπίθωιντο αὐτοῖς διαβαίνουσιν οἱ πολέμιοι. 2. Διαβεβηκόσι δὲ αὐτοῖς πάλιν ἐπιφαίνεται ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἔχων ἱππέας χιλίους τοξότας δὲ καὶ σφενδονήτας εἰς τετρακισχιλίους· τοσούτους γὰρ ἤτησε Τισσαφέρην καὶ ἔλαβεν, ὑποσχόμενος, ἂν τούτους λάβῃ, παραδώσειν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καταφρονήσας, ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρόσθεν προσβολῇ ὀλίγους ἔχων ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδέν, πολλὰ δὲ κακὰ ἐνόμιζε ποιῆσαι. 3. Ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ Ἕλληνες διαβεβηκότες ἀπείχον τῆς χαράδρας ὅσον ὀκτῶ σταδίου, διέβαινε καὶ ὁ Μιθριδάτης ἔχων τὴν δύναμιν. Παρήγγελο δὲ τῶν τε πελταστῶν οὓς ἔδει διώκειν καὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, καὶ τοῖς

ἰππεύουσιν εἴρητο θαρρόουσι διώκειν, ὥς ἐφευρομένης ἱκανῆς δυνάμεως. 4. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Μιθριδάτης κατειλήφει καὶ ἤδη σφενδόναι καὶ τοξεύματα ἐξικνούντο, ἐσήμηνε τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῇ σάλπιγγι, καὶ εὐθὺς ἔθεον ὁμόσε οἷς εἴρητο, καὶ οἱ ἰππεῖς ἤλυνον· οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἀλλ' ἐφευγον ἐπὶ τὴν χαράδραν. 5. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ διώξει τοῖς βαρβάρους τῶν τε πεζῶν ἀπέθανον πολλοὶ καὶ τῶν ἰππέων ἐν τῇ χαράδρᾳ ζωὴ ἐλήφθησαν εἰς ὀκτωκαίδεκα· τοὺς δὲ ἀποθανόντας αὐτοκέλευστοι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἡκίσαντο, ὥς ὅτι φοβερώτατον τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶη ὄραν.

6. Καὶ οἱ μὲν πολέμιοι οὕτω πράξαντες ἀπῆλθον· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἀσφαλῶς πορευόμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ἀφίκοντο ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν. 7. Ἐνταῦθα πόλις ἦν ἐρήμη, μεγάλη, ὄνομα δ' αὐτῇ ἦν Λάρισσα· ὥκουν δ' αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν Μῆδοι· τοῦ δὲ τείχους ἦν αὐτῆς τὸ εὖρος πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι πόδες, ὕψος δ' ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος δύο παρασάγγαι· ὥκοδόμητο δὲ πλίνθοις κεραμίαις· κρηπὶς δ' ὑπὲν λιθίνῃ, τὸ ὕψος εἴκοσι ποδῶν. 8. Ταύτην βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν, ὅτε παρὰ Μῆδων τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐλάμβανον Πέρσαι, πολιορκῶν οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐδύνατο ἐλεῖν· Ἥλιος δὲ νεφέλῃν προκαλύψας ἠφάνισε μέχρις ἐξέλιπον οἱ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω. 9. Παρὰ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἦν πυραμὶς λιθίνῃ, τὸ μὲν εὖρος ἐνὸς πλέθρου, τὸ δὲ ὕψος δύο πλέθρων. Ἐπὶ ταύτης πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἦσαν, ἐκ τῶν πλησίον κωμῶν ἀποπεφενγότες.

10. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὸν ἓνα παρασάγγας ἐξ πρὸς τείχος ἔρημον, μέγα, πρὸς τῇ πόλει κείμενον· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῇ πόλει Μέσπιλα· Μῆδοι δ' αὐτὴν ποτε ὥκουν. Ἦν δὲ ἡ μὲν κρηπὶς λίθου ξεστοῦ κογχυλιάτου, τὸ εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν καὶ τὸ ὕψος

πεντήκοντα. 11. Ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτῃ ἐπφοδόμητο πλίνθινον τεῖχος, τὸ μὲν εὖρος πεντήκοντα ποδῶν, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἑκατόν· τοῦ δὲ κύκλου ἡ περίοδος ἕξ παρασάγγαι. Ἐν ταύτῃ λέγεται Μηδία γυνὴ βασιλέως καταφυγεῖν, ὅτε ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ Περσῶν Μῆδοι. 12. Ταύτην δὲ τὴν πόλιν πολιορκῶν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἐδύνατο οὔτε χρόνῳ ἐλεῖν οὔτε βίᾳ· Ζεὺς δ' ἐμβροντήτους ποιεῖ τοὺς ἐνοικούντας, καὶ οὕτως ἐάλω.

13. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμὲν ἓνα παρασάγγας τέσσαρας. Εἰς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν σταθμὸν Τισσαφέρης ἐπεφάνη οὓς τε αὐτὸς ἱππέας ἦλθεν ἔχων καὶ τὴν Ὀρόντα δύναμιν, τοῦ τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα ἔχοντος, καὶ οὓς Κῦρος ἔχων ἀνέβη βαρβάρους, καὶ οὓς ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφὸς ἔχων βασιλεῖ ἐβοήθει, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτοις ὅσους βασιλεὺς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ· ὥστε τὸ στράτευμα πάμπλου ἐφάνη. 14. Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο, τὰς μὲν τῶν τάξεων εἶχεν ὀπισθεν καταστήσας· τὰς δὲ εἰς τὰ πλάγια παραγαγὼν ἐμβαλεῖν μὲν οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν οὐδ' ἐβούλετο διακινδυνεύειν· σφενδονᾶν δὲ παρήγγειλε καὶ τοξεύειν. 15. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διαταχθέντες οἱ Ῥόδιοι ἐσφενδόνησαν καὶ οἱ [Σκύθαι] τοξόται ἐτόξευσαν καὶ οὐδεὶς ἡμάρτανεν ἀνδρὸς, οὐδὲ γὰρ, εἰ πάννυ προθυμοῖτο, ῥάδιον ἦν, καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρης μάλα ταχέως ἔξω βελῶν ἀπεχώρει καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι τάξεις ἀπεχώρησαν. 16. Καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας οἱ μὲν ἐπορεύοντο, οἱ δ' εἶποντο· καὶ οὐκέτι ἐσίνοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσκει· μακρότερον γὰρ οἱ Ῥόδιοι τῶν Περσῶν ἐσφενδόνων καὶ τῶν πλείστων τοξοτῶν. 17. Μεγάλα δὲ καὶ τὰ τόξα τὰ Περσικὰ ἐστίν· ὥστε χρήσιμα ἦν ὅποσα ἀλίσκοιτο τῶν τοξευμάτων τοῖς Κρησί· καὶ διετέλουν χρώμενοι τοῖς τῶν πολεμίων τοξεύμασι, καὶ ἐμελέτων τοξεύειν ἄνω ἰέντες μακράν.

Εὐρίσκετο δὲ καὶ νεῦρα πολλὰ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις καὶ μόλυβδος· ὥστε χρῆσθαι εἰς τὰς σφενδόνας.

18. Καὶ ταύτη μὲν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, ἐπεὶ κατεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ Ἕλληνες κώμαις ἐπιτυχόντες, ἀπῆλθον οἱ βάρβαροι, μείον ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ τότε ἀκροβολίσει· τὴν δ' ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν ἔμειναν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ ἐπεσιτίσαντο· ἦν γὰρ πολὺς σῖτος ἐν ταῖς κώμαις. Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐπορεύοντο διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, καὶ Τισσαφέρνης εἶπετο ἀκροβολιζόμενος. 19. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ Ἕλληνες ἔγνωσαν ὅτι πλαισίον ἰσόπλευρον πονηρὰ τάξις εἴη πολεμίων ἐπομένων. Ἀνάγκη γάρ ἐστιν, ἦν μὲν συγκύπτῃ τὰ κέρατα τοῦ πλαισίου, ἢ ὁδοῦ στενωτέρας οὔσης, ἢ ὁρέων ἀναγκαζόντων ἢ γεφύρας, ἐκθλίβεσθαι τοὺς ὀπλίτας, καὶ πορεύεσθαι πονήρως ἅμα μὲν πιεζομένους ἅμα δὲ καὶ ταραττομένους· ὥστε δυσχρήστους εἶναι ἀνάγκη, ἀτάκτους ὄντας. 20. Ὅταν δ' αὖ διάσχη τὰ κέρατα, ἀνάγκη διασπῆσθαι τοὺς τότε ἐκθλιβομένους καὶ κενὸν γίνεσθαι τὸ μέσον τῶν κεράτων, καὶ ἀθυμεῖν τοὺς ταῦτα πάσχοντας τῶν πολεμίων ἐπομένων. Καὶ ὁπότε δέοι γέφυραν διαβαίνειν ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ διάβασιν, ἔσπευδεν ἕκαστος βουλόμενος φθάσαι πρῶτος· καὶ εὐεπίθετον ἦν ἐνταῦθα τοῖς πολεμίοις. 21. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτ' ἔγνωσαν οἱ στρατηγοί, ἐποιήσαν ἕξ λόχους ἀνὰ ἑκατὸν ἄνδρας, καὶ λοχαγοὺς ἐπέστησαν, καὶ ἄλλους πεντηκοντῆρας, καὶ ἄλλους ἐνωμοτάρχους. Οὗτοι δὲ πορευόμενοι οἱ λοχαγοί, ὁπότε μὲν συγκύπτῃ τὰ κέρατα, ὑπέμενον ὕστεροι, ὥστε μὴ ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς κέρασι· τότε δὲ παρῆγον ἔξωθεν τῶν κεράτων. 22. Ὅποτε δὲ διάσχοιεν αἱ πλευραὶ τοῦ πλαισίου, τὸ μέσον ἀνεξεπίμπλασαν, εἰ μὲν στενωτέρου εἴη τὸ διέχον, κατὰ λόχους· εἰ δὲ πλατύτερον, κατὰ πεντηκοστῆς· εἰ δὲ πάνυ πλατὺ, κατ' ἐνωμοτίας· ὥστε αἰεὶ ἐκπλεων εἶναι

τὸ μέσον. 23. Εἰ δὲ καὶ διαβαίνειν τινὰ δέοι διάβασιν ἢ γέφυραν, οὐκ ἐταράττοντο, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μέρει οἱ λοχαγοὶ διέβαινον καὶ εἴ που δέοι τι τῆς φάλαγγος, ἐπιπαρῆσαν οὗτοι. Τούτῳ τῷ τρίτῳ ἐπορεύθησαν σταθμούς τέσσαρας.

24. Ἡνίκα δὲ τὸν πέμπτον ἐπορεύοντο εἶδον βασιλείον τι, καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ κώμας πολλὰς· τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν πρὸς τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο διὰ γηλόφων ὑψηλῶν γιγνομένην, οἱ καθῆκον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅρους ὑφ' ᾧ ἦν κώμη. Καὶ εἶδον μὲν τοὺς γηλόφους ἄσμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες, ὡς εἰκός, τῶν πολεμίων ὄντων ἱππέων. 25. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πορευόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου ἀνέβησαν ἐπὶ τὸν πρῶτον γηλόφον, καὶ κατέβαινον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀναβαίνειν, ἐνταῦθα ἐπιγίγνονται οἱ βάρβαροι, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὑψηλοῦ ἐς τὸ πρηνὲς ἔβαλλον, ἐσφενδόνων, ἐτόξευον ὑπὸ μαστίγων. 26. καὶ πολλοὺς κατετίτρωσκον καὶ ἐκράτησαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων γυμνῶν, καὶ κατέκλεισαν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ ὅπλα ὥστε παντάπασι ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν ἀχρηστοὶ ἦσαν ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ ὄντες καὶ οἱ σφενδονῆται καὶ οἱ τοξόται. 27. Ἐπεὶ δὲ πιεζόμενοι οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπεχείρησαν διώκειν σχολῇ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον ἀφικνούνται ὀπλῖται ὄντες· οἱ δὲ πολέμοι ταχὺ ἀπεπήδων. 28. Πάλιν δέ, ὅποτε ἀπίοιεν πρὸς τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, ταῦτα ἔπασχον καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ δευτέρου γηλόφου ταῦτα ἐγίγνετο· ὥστε ἀπὸ τοῦ τρίτου γηλόφου ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς μὴ κινεῖν τοὺς στρατιώτας πρὶν ἀπὸ τῆς δεξιᾶς πλευρᾶς τοῦ πλαισίου ἀνήγαγον πελταστὰς πρὸς τὸ ἕρος. 29. Ἐπεὶ δ' οὗτοι ἐγένοντο ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐπομένων πολεμίων, οὐκέτι ἐπετίθεντο οἱ πολέμοι τοῖς καταβαίνουσι, δεδοικότες μὴ ἀποτμηθείησαν καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν αὐτῶν γένοιτο οἱ πολέμοι. 30. Οἷτω τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας πορευόμενοι οἱ μὲν τῇ ὁδῷ κατὰ

τοὺς γηλόφους, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ὄρος ἐπιπαριόντες, ἀφίκοντο εἰς τὰς κώμας καὶ ἰατροὺς κατέστησαν ὁκτώ· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ τετρωμένοι.

31. Ἐνταῦθα ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς καὶ τῶν τετρωμένων ἕνεκα καὶ ἅμα ἐπιτήδεια πολλὰ εἶχον, ἄλευρα, οἶνον, κριθὰς ἵπποις συμβεβλημένας πολλὰς. Ταῦτα δὲ συνενηνεγμένα ἦν τῷ σατραπεύοντι τῆς χώρας. Τετάρτη δὲ ἡμέρα καταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὸ πεδίον. 32. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατέλαβεν αὐτοὺς Τισσαφέρνης σὺν τῇ δυνάμει ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς ἡ ἀνάγκη κατασκηνῆσαι οὐ πρῶτον εἶδον κώμην, καὶ μὴ πορεύεσθαι ἔτι μαχομένους· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀπόμαχοι οἱ τετρωμένοι καὶ οἱ ἐκείνους φέροντες καὶ οἱ τῶν φερόντων τὰ ὅπλα δεξάμενοι. 33. Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατεσκήνησαν, καὶ ἐπεχείρησαν αὐτοῖς ἀκροβολίζεσθαι οἱ βάρβαροι πρὸς τὴν κώμην προσιόντες, πολὺ περιῆσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες· πολὺ γὰρ διέφερεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας ὁρμώντας ἀλέξασθαι ἢ πορευόμενους ἐπιούσι τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθαι. 34. Ἡνίκα δ' ἦν ἤδη δειλὴ, ὥρα ἦν ἀπιέναι τοῖς πολεμίοις· οὐ ποτε γὰρ μείον ἀπεστρατοπεδεύοντο οἱ βάρβαροι τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐξήκοντα σταδίων, φοβούμενοι μὴ τῆς νυκτὸς οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐπίθωνται αὐτοῖς. 35. Πονηρὸν γὰρ νυκτὸς ἐστὶ στράτευμα Περσικόν. Οἷ τε γὰρ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς δέδενται, καὶ ὥς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ πεποδισμένοι εἰσὶ, τοῦ μὴ φεύγειν ἕνεκα εἰ λυθείησαν· ἐάν τέ τις θόρυβος γένηται, δεῖ ἐπιστάξαι τὸν ἵππον Πέρσῃ ἀνδρὶ καὶ χαλινᾶσαι δεῖ, καὶ θωρακισθέντα ἀναβῆναι ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον. Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα χαλεπὰ νύκτωρ τε καὶ θορύβου ὄντος ποιεῖν. Τούτου ἕνεκα πόρρω ἀπεσκήνουν τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

36. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐγίνωσκον αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες βουλομένους ἀπιέναι καὶ διαγγελλομένους, ἐκήρυξε τοῖς Ἕλ-

λῃσι συσκευάσασθαι, ἀκουόντων τῶν πολεμίων. Καὶ χρόνον μὲν τινα ἐπέσχον τῆς πορείας οἱ βάρβαροι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὄψε ἐγένετο ἀπήεσαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει λύειν αὐτοὺς νυκτὸς πορεύεσθαι καὶ κατάγεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον. 37. Ἐπεὶ δὲ σαφῶς ἀπionτας ἤδη ἑώρων οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἐπορεύοντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀναζεύξαντες, καὶ διήλθον ὅσον ἐξήκοντα σταδίους· καὶ γίγνεται τοσοῦτον μεταξὺ τῶν στρατευμάτων ὥστε τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ οὐκ ἐφάνησαν οἱ πολέμοι, οὐδὲ τῇ τρίτῃ· τῇ δὲ τετάρτῃ, νυκτὸς προελθόντες καταλαμβάνουσι χωρίον ὑπερδέξιον οἱ βάρβαροι, ἣ ἔμελλον οἱ Ἕλληνες παρίεναι, ἀκρωνυχίαν ὄρους, ὑφ' ἣν ἡ κατάβασις ἦν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον. 38. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑώρα ὁ Χειρίσοφος προκατειλημμένην τὴν ἀκρωνυχίαν, καλεῖ Ξενοφῶντα ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρᾶς· καὶ κελεύει λαβόντα τοὺς πελταστὰς παραγενέσθαι εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν. 39. Ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν τοὺς μὲν πελταστὰς οὐκ ἦγεν· ἐπιφαινόμενον γὰρ ἑώρα Τισσαφέρην καὶ ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα· αὐτὸς δὲ προσελάσας ἡρώτα· Τί καλεῖς; Ὁ δὲ λέγει αὐτῷ· Ἐξεστὶν ὁρᾶν· προκατείληπται γὰρ ἡμῖν ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς καταβάσεως λόφος, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι παρελθεῖν, εἰ μὴ τούτους ἀποκόψομεν. Ἄλλὰ τί οὐκ ἦγες τοὺς πελταστὰς; 40. Ὁ δὲ λέγει ὅτι οὐκ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ ἔρημα καταλιπεῖν τὰ ὀπισθεν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιφαινομένων. Ἄλλὰ μὴν ὥρα γ', ἔφη, βουλευέσθαι πῶς τις τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀπελᾷ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου. 41. Ἐνταῦθα Ξενοφῶν ὁρᾷ τοῦ ὄρους τὴν κορυφὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἑαντῶν στρατεύματος οὖσαν, καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον ἔνθα ἦσαν οἱ πολέμοι· καὶ λέγει· Κράτιστον, ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἡμῖν ἴεσθαι ὡς τάχιστα ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον· ἦν γὰρ τοῦτο λάβωμεν, οὐ δυνήσονται μένειν οἱ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁδοῦ. Ἄλλά, εἰ βούλει, μένε ἐπὶ τῷ στρα-

τεύματι· ἐγὼ δ' ἐθέλω πορεύεσθαι· εἰ δὲ χρήξεις, πορεύου ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος, ἐγὼ δὲ μενῶ αὐτοῦ. 42. Ἀλλὰ δίδωμί σοι, ἔφη ὁ Χειρίσοφος, ὁπότερον βούλει ἐλέσθαι. Εἰπὼν ὁ Ξενοφῶν ὅτι νεώτερός ἐστιν, αἰρεῖται πορεύεσθαι· κελεύει δὲ οἱ συμπέμψαι ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος ἄνδρας· μακρὸν γὰρ ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐρᾶς λαβεῖν. 43. Καὶ ὁ Χειρίσοφος συμπέμπει τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος πελταστάς· ἔλαβε δὲ τοὺς κατὰ μέσον τοῦ πλαισίου. Συνέπεσθαι δ' ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς τριακοσίους οὓς αὐτὸς εἶχε τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ πλαισίου.

44. Ἐντεῦθεν ἐπορεύοντο ὡς ἡδύναντο τάχιστα. Οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ λόφου πολέμιοι ὡς ἐνόησαν αὐτῶν τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον, εὐθύς καὶ αὐτοὶ ὥρμησαν ἀμιλλᾶσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον. 45. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ μὲν κραυγὴ ἦν τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ στρατεύματος, διακελενομένων τοῖς ἑαυτῶν· πολλὴ δὲ κραυγὴ τῶν ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρην τοῖς ἑαυτῶν διακελενομένων. 46. Ξενοφῶν δὲ παρελαύνων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου παρεκελεύετο· Ἄνδρες, νῦν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα νομίζετε ἀμιλλᾶσθαι, νῦν πρὸς τοὺς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, [νῦν] ὀλίγον πονήσαντες [χρόνον] ἀμαχεὶ τὴν λοιπὴν πορευσόμεθα. Σωτηρίδας δὲ ὁ Σικυνῶνιος εἶπεν· 47. Οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου, ὦ Ξενοφῶν, ἐσμεν· σὺ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἵππου ὀχῇ, ἐγὼ δὲ χαλεπῶς κάμνω τὴν ἀσπίδα φέρων. 48. Καὶ ὅς ἀκούσας ταῦτα, καταπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου, ὠθεῖται αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς τάξεως, καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἀφελόμενος ὡς ἐδύνατο τάχιστα ἔχων ἐπορεύετο. Ἐτύγχανε δὲ καὶ θώρακα ἔχων τὸν ἵππικόν· ὥστε ἐπιέζετο. Καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἔμπροσθεν ὑπάγειν παρεκελεύετο, τοῖς δὲ ὀπισθεν παριέναι μάλιστα ἐπομένους· 49. Οἱ δ' ἄλλοι στρατιῶται παίουσι καὶ βάλλουσι καὶ λοιδοροῦσι τὸν Σωτηρίδαν, ἔστε ἡνάγκασαν λαβόντα

τὴν ἀσπίδα πορεύεσθαι. Ὁ δὲ ἀναβάς, ἕως μὲν βάσιμα ἦν, ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου ἦγεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἄβαστα ἦν, καταλιπὼν τὸν ἵππον ἔσπευδε πεζῇ. Καὶ φθάνουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄκρῳ γενόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους.

CAPUT V.

1. Ἐνθα δὴ οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι στραφέντες ἔφευγον ἢ ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο· οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες εἶχον τὸ ἄκρον. Οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Τισσαφέρην καὶ Ἀριαῖον ἀποτραπόμενοι ἄλλην ὁδὸν ὄχοντο· οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον καταβάντες [εἰς τὸ πεδίον] ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐν κώμῃ μεστῇ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν. Ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι κῶμαι πολλαὶ πλήρεις πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πεδίῳ παρὰ τὸν Τίγρητα ποταμόν. 2. Ἡνίκα δ' ἦν δεῖλη, ἑξαπίνης οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπιφαίνονται ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατέκοψάν τινες τῶν ἐσκεδασμένων ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καθ' ἀρπαγὴν· καὶ γὰρ νομαὶ πολλαὶ βοσκημάτων διαβιβαζόμεναι εἰς τὸ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ κατελήφθησαν. 3. Ἐνταῦθα Τισσαφέρης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ καίειν ἐπεχείρησαν τὰς κώμας. Καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μάλα ἡθύμησάν τινες, ἐννοοῦμενοι μὴ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, εἰ καλοῖεν, οὐκ ἔχοιεν ὁπόθεν λαμβάνοιεν. 4. Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Χειρίσοφον ἀπήεσαν ἐκ τῆς βοηθείας· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν, ἐπεὶ κατέβη, παρελάνων τὰς τάξεις, ἡνίκα ἀπὸ τῆς βοηθείας ἀπήντησαν οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἔλεγεν· 5. Ὁρᾶτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ὑφίεντας

τὴν χώραν ἤδη ἡμετέραν εἶναι; ἀ γὰρ ὅτε ἐσπένδοντο διεπράττοντο, μὴ καίειν τὴν βασιλέως χώραν, νῦν αὐτοὶ καίουσιν ὡς ἀλλοτρίαν. Ἀλλὰ ἐάν που καταλίπωσί γε αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, ὄψονται καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα πορευομένους. 6. Ἀλλ', ὦ Χειρίσοφε, ἔφη, δοκεῖ μοι βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς κάοντας ὡς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας. Ὁ δὲ Χειρίσοφος εἶπεν· Οὐκ οὖν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἔφη, καίωμεν, καὶ οὕτω θάττον παύσονται.

7. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς ἀπῆλθον, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι περὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν, στρατηγοὶ δὲ καὶ λοχαγοὶ συνῆλθον. Καὶ ἐνταῦθα πολλὴ ἀπορία ἦν. Ἐνθεν μὲν γὰρ ὄρη ἦν ὑπερίψηλα, ἔνθεν δὲ ὁ ποταμὸς τοσοῦτος τὸ βάθος ὡς μηδὲ τὰ δόρατα ὑπερέχειν πειρωμένοις τοῦ βάθους. 8. Ἀπορουμένοις δ' αὐτοῖς προσελθὼν τις ἀνὴρ Ῥόδιος εἶπεν· ἐγὼ θέλω, ὦ ἄνδρες, διαβιβάσαι ὑμᾶς κατὰ τετρακισχιλίους ὀπλίτας, ἂν μοι ὦν δέομαι ὑπηρετήσητε καὶ τάλαντον μισθὸν πορίσητε. 9. Ἐρωτώμενος δὲ ὅτου δέοιτο· Ἀσκῶν, ἔφη, δισχιλίων δεήσομαι· πολλὰ δὲ ὀρῶ ταῦτα πρόβατα καὶ αἰγας καὶ βούς καὶ ὄνους, ἃ ἀποδαρέντα καὶ φυσηθέντα ῥαδίως ἂν παρέχοι τὴν διάβασιν. 10. Δεήσομαι δὲ καὶ τῶν δεσμῶν οἷς χρησθε περὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια· Τούτοις δ', ἔφη, ζεύξας τοὺς ἀσκούς πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ὀρμίσας ἕκαστον ἀσκὸν λίθους ἀρτήσας καὶ ἀφείς ὥσπερ ἀγκύρας εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, διαγαγὼν καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν δῆσας, ἐπιβαλὼ ὕλην καὶ γῆν ἐπιφορήσω. 11. Ὅτι μὲν οὖν οὐ καταδύσεσθε αὐτίκα μάλα εἴσεσθε· πᾶς γὰρ ἀσκὸς δύο ἄνδρας ἔξει τοῦ μὴ καταδύναι· ὥστε δὲ μὴ ὀλισθάνειν ἢ ὕλη καὶ ἢ γῆ σῇσει.

12. Ἀκούσασι ταῦτα τοῖς στρατηγοῖς τὸ μὲν ἐνθύμημα χαρίεν ἐδόκει εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ἔργον ἀδύνατον ἴσαν

γὰρ οἱ κωλύσοντες πέραν πολλοὶ ἵππεις, οἳ εὐθὺς τοῖς πρώτοις οὐδὲν ἂν ἐπέτρεπον τούτων ποιεῖν. 13. Ἐνταῦθα τὴν μὲν ὑστεραίαν ὑπανεχώρουν εἰς τοῦμπαλιν ἢ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα, εἰς τὰς ἀκαύστους κώμας, κατακαύσαντες ἔνθεν ἐξήεσαν ὥστε οἱ πολέμιοι οὐ προσήλυνον, ἀλλὰ ἐθεῶντο καὶ ὅμοιοι ἦσαν θαυμάζοντες ὅποι ποτὲ τρέψονται οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ τί ἐν νῶ ἔχοιεν. 14. Ἐνταῦθα οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι στρατιῶται ἀμφὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἦσαν οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ [καὶ οἱ λοχαγοὶ] πάλιν συνήλθον, καὶ συναγαγόντες τοὺς ἐαλωκότας ἤλεγχον τὴν κύκλῳ πᾶσαν χώραν τίς ἐκάστη εἴη. 15. Οἱ δὲ ἔλεγον ὅτι τὰ μὲν πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τῆς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα εἴη καὶ Μηδίαν, δι' ἧσπερ ἦκοιεν· ἡ δὲ πρὸς ἔω ἐπὶ Σοῦσά τε καὶ Ἐκβάτανα φέροι, ἔνθα θερίζειν καὶ ἐαρίζειν λέγεται βασιλεὺς· ἡ δὲ διαβάντι τὸν ποταμὸν πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἐπὶ Λυδίαν καὶ Ἰωνίαν φέροι· ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν ὀρέων καὶ πρὸς ἄρκτον τετραμμένη ὅτι εἰς Καρδούχους ἄγῃ. 16. Τούτους δὲ ἔφασαν οἰκεῖν ἀνὰ τὰ ὄρη καὶ πολεμικοὺς εἶναι καὶ βασιλέως οὐκ ἀκούειν· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐμβαλεῖν ποτε εἰς αὐτοὺς βασιλικὴν στρατιάν, δώδεκα μυριάδας· τούτων δ' οὐδένα ἀπονοστήσαι διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν· ὁπότε μέντοι πρὸς τὸν σατράπην τὸν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ σπείσαιντο, καὶ ἐπιμίγνυσθαι σφῶν τε πρὸς ἐκείνους καὶ ἐκείνων πρὸς αὐτούς.

17. Ἀκούσαντες ταῦτα οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐκάθισαν χωρὶς τοὺς ἐκασταχόσε φάσκοντας εἶδέναι, οὐδὲν δῆλον ποιήσαντες ὅποι πορεύεσθαι ἔμελλον. Ἐδόκει δὲ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι διὰ τῶν ὀρέων εἰς Καρδούχους ἐμβαλεῖν· τούτους γὰρ διελθόντας ἔφασαν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν ἵξαι, ἧς Ὀρόντας ἤρχε πολλῆς καὶ εὐδαίμονος. Ἐντεῦθεν δ' εὐπορον ἔφασαν εἶναι ὅποι τις ἐθέλοι πορεύεσθαι. 18. Ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐθύσαντο, ὅπως, ὅπηνικα καὶ δοκοίη

τῆς ὥρας, τὴν πορείαν ποιοῖντο· τὴν γὰρ ὑπερβολὴν τῶν
ὁρέων ἐδεδοίκεσαν μὴ προκαταληφθεῖη· καὶ παρήγγειλαν
ἐπειδὴ δειπνήσειαν συνεσκευασμένους πάντας ἀναπαύ-
εσθαι, καὶ ἔπεσθαι ἡνίκ' ἂν τις παραγγείλῃ.

NOTES.

CHAPTER I.

§ 1. *Recapitulation of preceding narrative.*

μέχρι τῆς μάχης] The battle of Cunaxa, for which see note on IV. 1. 1. There is a slight difficulty in regard to the connection and interpretation of the words ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς. White joins them closely with ἐγένετο, 'took place during the truce', and punctuates the passage accordingly; but, standing where they do in the sentence, it is better, I think, to explain them as referring to ἀπύοντων no less than to ἐγένετο.

§§ 2, 3. *Despondency of the Greeks upon a review of their position.*

§ 2. σπείλημμένοι... ἀπολώλεσαν] Compare συνελαμβάνοντο and κατέκπησαν, which are the words used in II. 5. 32, where an account of the occurrence is given. Clearchus, Proxenus, Menon, Agias and Socrates were the generals who fell. The scene of the treachery is placed by Layard in the plain of *Shumanuk*, on the south side of the *Zab*, near its confluence with the Tigris.

ἐν πολλῇ δὴ ἀπορίᾳ] 'in very great perplexity'. For this strengthening force of δὴ, see note on καὶ πολλοὶ δέ (IV. 1. 13).

ἐνθυμούμενοι] ἐννοοῦμενοι al., a reading which may have arisen from the occurrence of the participle later on in § 3.

ἐπὶ ταῖς βασιλέως θύραις] Cf. II. 4. 4. κύκλῳ δὲ αὐτοῖς... ἦσαν, 'they had enemies all around them'. For the ethic dative αὐτοῖς, which is independent of the construction, see note on ὑμῖν (IV. 6. 16).

ἐν μέσῳ τῆς οἰκαδὲ ὁδοῦ] 'intervening in their homeward route'. This explanation is adopted by Sturz and White, and is preferable to making the genitive ὁδοῦ depend on διείργον, which is the other alternative. Taken thus by itself διείργον will mean little more than 'lay in their way', 'parted them from the district beyond'.

ὥστ' εὐδελον ἦν] For the force of ὥστε with the indicative and infinitive, see note on IV. 7. 17.

§ 3. εἰς τὴν ἐσπέραν] 'for that evening'. For the phrase ἐπὶ τὰ ὄπλα, 'to their quarters in the camp', see note on the words ἐν τῷ ὀμαλῷ (IV. 2. 16). It is the place where the arms had been stacked preparatory to forming the encampment.

δπου ἐτόγγαρεν] for δπου ἐτόγγαρεν ὦν, this omission of the participle with τυγχάνειν being now a recognised idiom in Prose no less than in Verse. Cf. *Anab.* V. 4. 34, and *Soph. Aj.* 9. ἔνδον γὰρ ὦν ἄρτι τυγχάνει. Οἷτ'ω διακείμενοι, 'with these feelings', 'in this state of mind'.

§§ 4—8. *The earlier history of Xenophon, and the advice he received from Socrates relative to the present expedition.*

§ 4. Ἦν δέ τις] 'There was one called Xenophon in the army'. For this use of τις in a disparaging or depreciating sense compare in particular *Soph. (Ed. Tyr.* 107. τοὺς αὐτοῦντας χεῖρ τιμωρεῖν τινός (where the plural τινός is a certain emendation for τινά, which is still retained by Dindorf), 'to visit with punishment his murderers—certain persons unknown'.

μετεπέμψατο] Observe the force of the middle, 'had sent for him'. Notice also the substitution of the future ποιήσειν in place of the more usual infinitive with δν, in order to give greater *certainly* or *reality* to this portion of the proposition, 'if only he would come, he would of a truth make him friendly with Cyrus'. Compare the note on διέλθοιεν ... διαβήσονται (IV. I. 3).

κρείττω] 'a better friend to him than his country had ever been'.

§ 5. ἀνακονοῦται] Macmichael distinguishes no difference between the active and the middle of this verb. Breitenbach, on the other hand, would translate the active by *consulere*, the middle by *communicare aliquid cum aliquo*. The distinction between the two is really akin to that between συμβουλεύειν and συμβουλεύεσθαι, as the middle voice in both cases implies the *interested motives* of the consulting party. Thus ἀνακονώσαι τι is simply to 'lay the case before' some one, while ἀνακονοῦσθαι τι is to 'take his opinion' upon it.

ὀποπτεύσας μή] The construction, as White observes, is the same as it would be after a verb of *fearing*, the idea being similar in both cases: 'being apprehensive that it might be made a ground of complaint on the part of his city if he became friendly with Cyrus'. The best authorities are in favour of omitting the pronoun *ol* after the word πόλεως.

συμπολεμήσαι] 'to have co-operated vigorously with the Lacedæmonians in the war against Athens'. The allusion is to the negotiations of Lysander, who had been the agent of Cyrus in supplying funds to the Lacedæmonians.

ἐλθόντα] The position of the participle is in favour of ἐλθόντα rather than ἐλθόντι, though in regard to external authority there is little to choose between the two readings.

§ 6. τινι δν θεῶν θύων] I cannot altogether agree with White, who suggests that the force of this preliminary δν is thrown on the τινι. Rather it is placed thus early in the sentence to influence the participles θύων and εὐχόμενος, and to show the hypothetical character of the entire clause: 'to which of the gods he was to pray and sacrifice, and (if he did so) succeed in his travels'.

θεοῖς is of course by attraction for θεοῦς.

§ 7. ἀλλ' αὐτὸς κρίνας] 'instead of which he had decided on his own part that he ought to go'.

§ 8. *θυσάμενος*] For the distinction between *θύειν* (act.) and *θύεσθαι* (midd.) see note on IV. 6. 27.

ὁρμᾶν τὴν ἀνω ὁδόν] 'to start on the upward route'. The accusative is referable to the same class as those mentioned in the notes on IV. 4. 1, and IV. 6. 12. *συνεστράθη*, 'was introduced' to Cyrus.

§§ 9, 10. *The device of Cyrus for retaining Xenophon in his service.*

§ 9. *ἀποπέμψειν*] If we retain this reading with Bornemann we can only explain it as an anacoluthon, or as a combination of two constructions similar to that which meets us again in § 20 of the present chapter.

§ 10. *τὴν ἐπὶ βασιλέα ὁρμὴν*] 'for he knew nothing of the movement against the king'. *δι' ἀσχύνην*, 'for fear of losing the respect of Cyrus and their comrades'. The present is a good opportunity for reminding beginners of the difference between the *objective* and the *subjective* genitive. Thus *ἀσχύνῃ Κύρου* might either mean the 'shame felt by Cyrus' (subjective) or, as in the present instance, the 'shame felt in regard to Cyrus' (objective).

§§ 11, 12. *The narrative of the expedition is resumed. Xenophon's dream and its supposed import.*

§ 11. *μικρὸν δ' ὕπνου λαχὼν*] *Ἰππου* is here a partitive genitive representing the *entire whole*, while the accusative *μικρὸν* denotes the *part* of the whole which is taken in the present instance. For a similar example see note on *οὐ προσέειπεν* (IV. 5. 5).

πάσαν] *πάσα* al., a very inferior reading, which has no doubt been introduced in the endeavour to make the construction of *ἔδοξεν* uniform in the two clauses. Retaining therefore the accusative *πάσαν*, we have *ἔδοξεν* used as a *personal* verb with *σκηπτὸς*, while by a very common idiom we must supply it in an *impersonal* sense with the latter clause of the sentence.

§ 12. *βασιλέως*] 'in his character of king'. This portion of the dream was unfavourable as suggesting that in this character he would take earthly kings, and in particular the king of Persia, under his care. Add to which, as White remarks, Jupiter was regarded as the founder of the Persian dynasty, and in this capacity is styled *Ζεὺς πατρώος* in the *Cyrop.* I. 6. 1.

κύκλῳ] is the emphatic word and suggests a second ground for disquietude: 'besides which the fire seemed to blaze all round him'. As regards the construction of the sentence, the optative with *μή* is of course dependent on the verb *ἐφοβείτο*, while the *οὐ* directly negatives *δύνατο*. Compare note on IV. 7. 11. This usage must be carefully distinguished from other combinations of *μή* and *οὐ* (cf. II. 3. 11) where the only force of *οὐ* is to make the negation more emphatic.

§§ 13, 14. *The reflections suggested by the dream.*

§ 13. *Ὅποῖόν τι μὲν δὴ ἐστὶ*] *ὁποῖόν τι μέντοι ἐστὶ δὴ* is Macmichael's reading, which presents us with an intolerable collocation of particles. The reading of the text, which is adopted by Breitenbach and White, is not free from objections on the same ground, and I am much inclined to adopt Schneider's simplified sentence, *ὁποῖόν τι μέντοι ἐστὶ τὸ κ.τ.λ.*

ἐπὶ βασιλεῖ] 'under the power of the king', 'at the mercy of the king'.

τί ἐμποδὼν μὴ οὐχί...ἀποθανεῖν;] Compare ὥστε πᾶσιν αλοχύνῃν εἶναι μὴ οὐ συσπουδάξῃν (II. 3. 11). Students will particularly observe this combination of μὴ οὐ with an infinitive in the sense of the Latin *quini* and *quominus*. It must, however, be preceded by a negative either expressed or implied, for which the question τί ἐμποδὼν does duty in the present sentence. Compare τί δῆτα μέλλει μὴ οὐ παρουσίαν ἔχειν; (Soph. *Aj.* 540). Akin to this is the use of μὴ οὐ with a participle which likewise necessitates a preceding negative. Cf. *Æd. Tyr.* 12.

.....δυσάλγητος γὰρ ἂν

εἴην τοιάδε μὴ οὐ κατοικτεῖρων ἔδραν

where the negative is implied in the compound adjective δυσάλγητος.

ἐπιδύνας] in the usual sense of this compound, 'having lived to see'.

§ 14. Ὅπως δ' ἀμυνοῦμεθα] For the construction of ὅπως after verbs like σκοπεῖν and παρασκευάζειν, see note on ἀγωνιοῦμεθα (IV. 6. 7).

ἐξόν] A nominative absolute, which, in the case of impersonal verbs, takes the place of the genitive absolute.

τὸν ἐκ πόλεως πόλεως στρατηγόν] 'the representative of what state', or, in other words, 'what state's representative do I expect to undertake this duty?' An allusion is no doubt intended to his own unofficial position in the army, as compared for instance with that of Chelirso-phus, who had received his commission direct from Lacedæmon. (Cf. *Δακεδαιμονίου ἀνδρὸς παρόντος*, VI. 1. 26.)

ἡλικίαν] There is great difficulty in determining the age of Xenophon at the present time. Mitford thinks that he was not yet *thirty*, others that he was now between *thirty* and *forty*: while those who are reluctant to discredit the story that he was saved by Socrates at the battle of Delium contend that he was more than *forty* at the time we are considering. The evidence, as a whole, suggests the conclusion that he was now *about* thirty years old, but those who are interested in the arguments will find them discussed in Macmichael's note to the passage, and, more fully still, in the *Philol. Mus.* pp. 506—510.

§§ 15—25. *His speech before the assembled officers.*

§ 15. τοῦς Προξένου πρῶτον] Because, as White suggests, he was especially intimate with Proxenus, and shared his quarters in the camp.

§ 16. πρὶν ἐνόμισαν] Πρὶν is here followed by an indicative because it refers to a condition which has already taken place. See note on IV. 1. 4.

For παρασκευάσθαι White reads the aorist παρασκευάσασθαι, but the MSS are in favour of παρασκευάσθαι, and the aorist, had it been the original reading, is little likely to have been displaced in favour of the perfect.

ὡς κάλλιστα] 'as successfully as possible'. This very common construction is amplified by White into ὅπως οὕτως ἀγωνιοῦμεθα, ὡς (δυνατὸν ἐστὶ ἀγωνίεσθαι) κάλλιστα. But the future ἀγωνιοῦμεθα is all that we need understand with ὡς κάλλιστα to complete the construction.

§ 17. ἀδελοφῶ] Cyrus. καὶ τεθνηκός ἦδη, 'even after he was dead', for which καὶ ταῦτα τεθνηκός would have been the more usual phrase. The word ταῦτα is probably omitted because the participle is already rendered sufficiently emphatic by the addition of the adverb ἦδη.

ἡμᾶς δέ] This accusative, in place of the more usual ἡμεῖς, is usually explained on the ground that it is the subject of παθεῖν rather than οἰόμεθα, although, for the sake of emphasis, it is removed from its natural position at the close of the sentence. But even then, as Schneider well observes, the construction would still require ἡμεῖς. It is therefore better to treat it as an anacoluthon, 'while, as for us', etc.

κηδεμὼν οὐδέϊς] Whereas Cyrus had enjoyed the support and protection of his mother Parysatis.

§ 18. ἐπὶ πάν ελθοῖ] 'would he not have recourse to every expedient?' In the phrase τοῦ μὴ στρατεῦσαι students will notice the apparently superfluous negative μὴ. Two explanations are suggested of this common and elegant idiom; (i) that the negative is actually redundant and added only for the sake of emphasis; (ii) that the phrase τοῦ μὴ στρατεῦσαι is complete in itself and introduced in amplification of φόβον, 'to create alarm, so that they should not ever make war upon him'. For the latter explanation see note on τὸ μὴ ἦδη εἶναι (IV. 8. 14).

The rhythm of the passage is conclusive against our leaving the enclitic ποτε to follow αὐτὸν as the last word in the sentence.

§ 19. διαθεώμενος αὐτῶν] 'observing in connection with them', the sentences which follow taking the place of the accusative which we should have expected with διαθεώμενος. Bornemann virtually adopts this explanation when he regards the sentences which follow as in fact equivalent to simple substantives.

§ 20. ὅποτε ἐνθυμομένη] The optative of repetition. See note on IV. 1. 9, and again on IV. 5. 30.

ἦδειν ὅτι] ἦδειν ἐτι Breitenbach, but the MSS are in favour of the text, which may be readily explained as a mixture of the two constructions ἦδειν ὅτι ὀλίγοι ἔχουσιν and ἦδειν ὀλίγους ἔχοντας. For a similar combination, see note on κρεῖττον...κλέψαι τι πειρᾶσθαι...μᾶλλον ἢ μάχεσθαι (IV. 6. 11).

πορίζεσθαι...κατέχοντας] 'restrained us from supplying ourselves with provisions in any other way than by purchase'. This is a case in which the author's meaning would have been made more clear by the addition of a negative to πορίζεσθαι, as κατέχειν in this combination might also mean 'binding us down to supply ourselves', and it is only from the context we can gather the right interpretation.

§ 21. ἐν μέσῳ] = *in medio*, 'before us'. The omission of the article with ἄλλα of course marks the predicate: 'as prizes for whichever of us shall prove the better men'. The ἀγωνοθέται were the umpires and presidents of the public games in Greece.

§ 22. τοὺς τῶν θεῶν ὅρκους] 'oaths to the gods'. For the difference between the objective and subjective genitive see note on τὴν ἐπὶ βασιλέα ὁρμήν (§ 10).

πολὺν] is usually construed with μέλζονι, 'far greater confidence'. But, if so, I cannot account for its position in the sentence, as our author is not as a rule careful for rhythm, which in Thucydides would have suggested a reason for its separation from μέλζονι. I should prefer therefore to take πολὺν alone in the sense of 'decidedly', 'unquestionably': 'so that I think we may go to the contest unquestionably with greater confidence than they can'. In confirmation of this view, see note on πολὺν in cap. ii. § 15 of the present book.

§ 23. ψυχὰς σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς ἀμείνονας] *Noi*, as White, 'minds more observant of right and more influenced by conscientious motives', but 'hearts more *courageous* because we know the gods are with us'. Macmichael notices several instances of this use of οἱ ἄνδρες, οἱ ἄνθρωποι, in the sense of 'the enemy', e.g. in III. 4. 40, and again in IV. 2. 7.

τρωτοὶ καὶ θνητοὶ] 'more exposed to wounds (because their armour was inferior), and more exposed to death (because their constitutions were less hardy)'.

§ 24. ἀλλ' ἴσως γὰρ] In the combination of ἀλλὰ γὰρ it is often necessary to supply an ellipse, e.g. 'but *enough*, for...' 'but *what need of words* for...', etc. In many cases however, as in the present, the sentence is complete in itself, the order of the words being ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῶν θεῶν μὴ ἀναμένωμεν, ἴσως γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι ταῦτα ἐνθυμούνται. It may seem unnecessary to remind beginners that πρὸς τῶν θεῶν can only be used in an *appeal*, 'I implore you by Heaven'. No mistake, however, is more repeatedly made by advanced students than the use of this and similar phrases in the sense of simple *affirmation*. White rightly calls attention to the fact that ἀναμένωμεν is an *aorist*, not a *present*, subjunctive: 'μὴ' being regularly constructed with the present imperative or the aorist subjunctive.

τοῦ ἐξορμήσαι] is the genitive after ἀρξώμεν, 'let us begin the task of encouraging our comrades likewise to valour'.

Φάνητέ] A rare use of the subjunctive in the sense of a modified future, 'you will, I hope, show yourselves'. Students should be on their guard against translating this as an *imperative*, a use which in the case of the subjunctive is confined to the first person only—excepting in the matter of negative commands, when the second and third person may likewise be used as imperatives in combination with μὴ and οὐ. For an elaborate discussion of the subject, see Jelf, §§ 415, 416.

§ 25. ἐξορμᾶν] is probably a neuter, to 'make a move', 'take the initiative' in this direction. Others would treat it as an active, to 'urge the rest to action'.

οὐδὲν προφασίζομαι] Οὐδὲν is an adverbial accusative, 'in no wise', as in § 16 of the present chapter.

§§ 26—31. *The speech of Apollonides and its reception by the assembly.*

§ 26. βουωτιάων] He was not however a Bœotian by birth, as we can gather from the taunt of Agasias in § 31, but a native of Lydia, who had been the slave of Proxenus in Bœotia, and afterwards received his freedom.

πέλας] Macmichael finds a difficulty in the nominative case, which he explains as put for *πέσαντα* by attraction to the subject of λέγει. But in truth no explanation is needed, as *πέλας* is the better Greek of the two. See note on *ἡμᾶς δὲ* at the close of § 17.

ἤρχετο λέγειν] Usually, no doubt, the participle takes the place of the infinitive when the reference is to a state not merely *intended* but *begun*. The rule however is not an invariable one, as we may gather from the constant use by Thucydides of such phrases as *ἤρχετο γίγνεσθαι* in reference to events or periods which were already in progress at the time he was writing.

τὰς ἀπορίας] 'their difficulties'.

§ 27. μεταξὺ] i.e. *μεταξὺ λέγοντα*, 'breaking in upon his speech'. See note on the use of *ἀμα* with the participle in IV. 1. 19, and again in IV. 7. 2.

οὐδὲ...οὐδὲ] 'you do *not even* understand what you see, nor remember what you hear'. White gives the right explanation of the negative, viz. that the former *οὐδὲ* stands for *ne...quidem*, but the wrong translation, 'neither on seeing understand, nor on hearing remember'.

ἐν ταύτῳ] 'yet of a truth you were in company with these officers'.

§ 28. σπονδῶν ἔτυχεν] Here again White has written hastily on the use of *τυγχάνειν* with an accusative in the sense of *obtaining*. In regard to Soph. *Antig.* 778 (*τεύχεται τὸ μὴ θανεῖν*) and similar cases, the infinitive is plainly proleptic, 'she shall get her wish, that she die not', while of the two examples he cites from the *Anabasis* the former (I. 4. 15) is really an instance of the *genitive*, and the latter (VI. 4. 32) is a wrong reference.

§ 29. οὐδὲ ἀποθανεῖν] 'is it not true that they are beaten, goaded, outraged and not even allowed to die, albeit, methinks, they long eagerly for death?'

πάλιν] Notice the position of this word, which by a device very common with Thucydides and other writers is placed where it may do double duty in the sentence, first with *λόγους* and again with *πεῖθειν*.

§ 30. προσεῖσθαι ἐς ταῦτό] 'not to admit this fellow into communion with ourselves, but, having deprived him of his post, to pack our baggage upon him and employ him in that capacity (i.e. *ὡς σκευοφόρῳ*)'.

§ 31. ἀμφοτέρα τὰ ὦτα τετυρπημένον] either as a punishment for theft, or, more probably, for the admission of ear rings. Cf. Juv. I. 102, who decries the custom as typical of Eastern luxury.

§§ 32—end. *A council of war with the speeches of Hieronymus, Xenophon and Chetrisophus, and the names of the officers chosen.*

§ 32. ὁπόθεν δὲ οἰχοιτο] 'wherever he was missing'. Notice the substitution of *ὁπόθεν* for *ὅπου* to suit the verb *οἰχοιτο*.

§ 33. ἀμφὶ τοὺς ἑκατόν] 'about a hundred *in all*' White, who compares *ἄμματα δρεπανηφόρα ἀμφὶ τὰ ἑκοσι* (I. 7. 10) for this force of the article. In the present passage however the ordinary rendering of the article is also, I think, the more forcible: 'the number of officers present amounted to *the usual total* of one hundred'.

§ 35. ἐπὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις] 'at the mercy of the barbarians'. See note on § 13.

§ 36. τοσοῦτοι ὄντες] The force of these words is considerably strengthened if we separate them by punctuation from those which follow and regard them as added by way of emphasis, 'you who have now met together, *all you*, I say, *who stand before me*'.

καιρόν] 'opportunity'.

§ 37. διαφέρειν τι τούτων] 'should in a measure excel the rest'. The genitive after διαφέρειν and similar verbs is due to the idea of comparison contained in them. We have another example of this in τούτων ἐπλεονεκτεῖτε a few lines below.

ταξίарχοι καὶ λοχαγοί] The arrangement of the sentence, as White observes, and also the omission of the word ταξίарχοι in corresponding passages, are strongly in favour of Krüger's suggestion that a τάξις consisted of two λόχοι, and that the senior of the two λοχαγοί was also the ταξίарχος.

ἀξιοῦν δὲ ὑμᾶς] *Not* 'you yourselves ought to claim to be braver men than the soldiery at large', as it is commonly translated, *but* 'we may fairly claim from you on your part that you should be braver'.

§ 38. οὐδὲν ἄν] Notice the position of ἄν after the emphatic word of the sentence. ὡς συνελόντι εἰπεῖν, 'to speak summarily', lit. 'as one might say who had summed the matter up'. For a similar construction see note on προΐουσι in III. 2. 22. White's explanation of this familiar phrase—that we are to supply λόγῳ with συνελόντι, and translate 'so as to speak in comprehensive language'—is anything but satisfactory.

ἐν δὲ τοῖς πολεμικοῖς παντάπασιν] For this and the following passage compare Thucyd. II. 89: καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ κόσμον καὶ σιγὴν περὶ πλείστου ἡγείσθε, ὃ ἐς τε τὰ πολλὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν συμφέρει καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ οὐχ ἥκιστα.

εὐταξία σώζειν δοκεῖ] Here again we may find an exact parallel in the *Antigone* of Sophocles, v. 672 ff.

ἀναρχίας γὰρ μείζον οὐκ ἔστιν κακόν.
αὐτὴ πόλεις τ' ὀλλυσσιν, ἥδ' ἀναστάτους
οἴκους τίθησιν· ἥδε σὺν μάχῃ δορὸς
τροπὰς καταρρήγνυσιν· τῶν δ' ὀρθομένῳ
σώζει τὰ πολλὰ σώμαθ' ἢ πειθαρχία.

§ 40. οὕτω γ' ἐχόντων] 'insomuch that, while they are in *this* frame of mind, I do not know what use one could make of them'.

§ 42. οὔτε πλῆθος...οὔτε ἰσχύς] Here again we are naturally reminded of the *Cédipus Tyrannus* (56, 57), and from this point to the close of the speech every successive sentence, in form no less than in sentiment, is suggestive of the tragedians, while occasional words (e.g. *μαστεύουσι* in § 43) are directly borrowed from poetry.

For the phrase σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς...ἐρρωμένεστεροι, see note on § 23.

§ 46. ἀπελθόντες ἤδη αἰρείσθε] For the position of the adverb ἤδη, see note on πάλιν in § 29. συγκαλοῦμεν is the Attic future by contraction from συγκαλέσομεν.

§ 47. μὴ μέλλωτο] 'might not be delayed'. For the use of μέλλειν in the passive voice, cf. Thucyd. v. 111, and again Dem. *Phil.* I. 50, εἰτ' ἐν ὅσῳ ταῦτα μέλλεται.

CHAPTER II.

§§ 1—8. *The soldiers are assembled and addressed by Cheirisophus, Cleanor and Xenophon.*

§ 1. ὑπέφαινε] For the force of ὑπὸ in composition see note on IV. 2. 7.

καταστήσαντας] 'to station outposts and then assemble the troops'. In place of καταστήσαντας we should naturally have expected the dative of the participle. White (following Buttm. § 142. 4. Obs. 2) suggests that the change is made for the sake of greater distinction and energy. Another explanation is possible, viz. that the construction is adopted to suit the *meaning* of the words ἐδοξεν αὐτοῖς, 'they determined', rather than the impersonal form in which they are expressed.

§ 2. ὁπότε] = *quandoquidem*, 'since', 'now that we have lost'. In the phrase πρὸς δ' ἐτι the preposition is used adverbially, with which we may compare the use of ἐν in poetry, e.g. Soph. *Ced. Tyr.* 27,

ἐν δ' ὁ πυρφόρος θεὸς

σκήψας ἐλαύνει, λοιμὸς ἐχθιστος, πόλιν.

For the phrase οἱ ἀμφὶ Ἀριαῖον, see note on τὸ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν, IV. 1. 6.

§ 3. ἐλθεῖν] Admitting that ἐλθεῖν is the correct reading, which there is some reason to doubt, we can scarcely avoid translating it 'to come out of our present troubles'. The alternative is to regard ἐλθεῖν as purely poetic for εἶναι or γενέσθαι, and translate ἐκ τῶν παρόντων in the usual way, 'considering our present difficulties'.

εἰ δὲ μὴ] 'otherwise'. It is better to accept this as a phrase than to attempt to supply the ellipse. If anything is required, it can only be the future *δυνήσομεθα*, as the optative *δυναίμεθα*, which is suggested in some editions, is quite out of keeping with the other moods in the sentence.

ἀλλὰ...γε] 'yet at all events'. For this well-known use of ἀλλὰ compare amongst other passages, Soph. *Antig.* 779 :—

ἢ γινώσεται γοῦν ἀλλὰ τηλικαῦθ', ὅτι
πόνος περισσός ἐστι τῶν "Αἰδου σέβειν"

'or at any rate she shall learn—then if not before—that 'tis all waste labour to court the powers below'. In Latin the word *tamen* does similar duty. Cf. *Phædr.* (II. 5. 5), *Hanc emendare, si tamen possum, volo*. It is better to supply *ὅπως* with ἀπονήσκωμεν and γενώμεθα than to treat them as independent imperatives.

οἷα...ποιήσῃαν] The optative, as usual, expresses the wish: 'such evils as I pray Heaven to inflict on those who hate us'. For a similar prayer compare the well-known passage at the close of Vergil's third *Georgic* (513), *De meliora piis erroremque hostibus illum*. Observe how pointedly the author changes from τοῖς πολεμοῖς (i.e. *hostes*—the Persians) to τοὺς ἐχθροὺς (i.e. *inimicos*—the personal enemies of each individual).

§ 4. ἐπὶ τούτῳ] 'directly after him': a stronger phrase, as White suggests, than μετὰ τούτου, which denotes mere sequence.

περὶ πλείστου ἂν ποιήσαιο] 'and would esteem it the highest privilege to save us'. Students will observe the introduction of ἂν at this point to mark that the latter clause of the sentence is hypothetical: 'since he said that he *was* our friend, and would be glad, *if he could*, to save us'.

ἐπὶ τούτοις] 'in confirmation of this'.

Δία Φίδιον] Πίστιος is another similar attribute, with which compare the Latin equivalent *Dius Fidius*. In δημοσπράγες we have a word which, like μαστεύουσι in III. I. 43, is clearly borrowed from the language of poetry. αὐτοῖς τούτοις, 'by these very means'.

§ 5. Ἀρῖαιος δέ] A nominative absolute, as, owing to the length of the sentence, καὶ οὗτος is introduced with the verb to make the statement more emphatic.

§ 7. ἀξιώσαντα] The idea is as follows: 'that as he had counted himself worthy to wear the richest attire, so he would also, if need be, die in it'.

§ 8. διὰ φίλῃς λέναι] lit. 'to pass through a state of friendship with them', i.e. to be on a friendly footing with them. For one out of many similar phrases, cf. Soph. *Ant.* 742:

ὦ παγκύκιστε, διὰ δίκης ὥν πατρί;

διὰ πίστεως] is usually translated 'by reason of their confidence', but, if this had been the meaning, we should naturally have expected the accusative. It is therefore far safer to translate the phrase as akin to διὰ φίλῃς above, i.e. 'placed themselves in confidence (lit. in a state of confidence) in their hands'. In all these cases (e.g. διὰ φίλῃς, διὰ πίστεως and διὰ πολέμου) the preposition denotes the attendant or surrounding circumstances.

ὅν τοῖς θεοῖς] 'if Heaven befriends us'.

§§ 9—32. Occurrence of an omen, after which Xenophon concludes his speech.

§ 9. πτόρνυτα] Macmichael rightly calls attention to the fact that this was not under all circumstances regarded as a good omen, but only when it occurred in connection with words or phenomena of good import. Thus in many cases (e.g. in Theocritus and Theophrastus) special formulæ are given for averting the effects of it, while in Catullus (xlv. 8) the qualifying adjectives are given:

*Hoc ut dixit, Amor, sinistram ut ante,
Dextram sternuit approbationem.*

εὐχασθαι] 'that we vow to sacrifice to this deity thank-offerings for our deliverance.....and that we make besides an additional vow to sacrifice also to the rest of the gods, provided we have the means'.

§ 10. ἐτύγχανον] is here used in its full and proper signification, 'I happened to be remarking'.

ἐπιωρκήκασιν] 'have broken their oaths'. How closely the last paragraph of this section resembles the language of the tragedians will be seen by comparing such passages as Soph. *Antig.* 1158, *Ajax* 127, etc.

§ 11. ἔπειτα δέ] 'in the next place', in answer to πρῶτον μὲν in § 10. The long parenthesis which follows causes a break in the

construction, and the illustration when it comes is introduced anew with the words *ἐλθόντων μὲν γάρ*.

προσέκει] The verb contains a twofold idea—that bravery was at once the birthright and the duty of an Athenian.

Περσῶν] The allusion is to the invasion of Greece by Datis and Artaphernes, and to their defeat at Marathon. The Athenian force is said to have numbered only 10,000 men, while the enemy had 10,000 cavalry and 100,000 foot-soldiers. Observe the omission of the article with the word *Ἀθηναῖοι* which adds greatly to the emphasis, 'it was *Athenians* who were found to withstand them'.

§ 12. *εὐξάμενοι*] a nominative absolute, as, when the main verb comes, it takes the impersonal form *ἐδόξεν αὐτοῖς*, which would require *εὐξάμενοις*. Compare the corresponding passage at the commencement of § 1.

τοσαύτας χιμαῖρας] This vow was registered by the Polemarch Callimachus, and (according to a scholiast) heifers were originally named in it, though goats were afterwards substituted in consequence of the number required. White proves conclusively that the sacrifice was retained to gratify the national vanity of the Athenians long after the requirements of the vow had been satisfied.

§ 13. *ἀναρίβμητον*] Compare the inscription on the tomb of the Peloponnesians who fell at Thermopylae:

μυριάσι ποτε τῇδε τριηκοσίοις ἐμάχοντο

ἐκ Πελοποννήσου χιλιάδες τέταρες.

κατὰ γῆρ] at Plataea: *κατὰ θάλατταν*, at Artemisium and Salamis.

§ 14. *πολλαπλάσιους*] 'though they outnumbered you many-fold'. The genitive (as in the case of *διαφέρειν* and similar verbs) is due to the idea of comparison which is contained in the adjective.

§ 15. *πολύ*] For the position and force of the adverb see note on *πολὸν σὺν φρονήματι μείζονι* (III. i. 22).

§ 16. *τό τε πλῆθος ἀμετρον*] 'though you saw how countless were their numbers'. White, ignoring the position of the article, translates 'their immense multitude', a rendering which can only be justified by regarding the text as one of the few instances in which the adjective and substantive cohere so closely as to represent in effect one single idea. But the examples in question are almost entirely confined to poetry, and the construction moreover would be out of keeping with so simple a style as Xenophon's.

πατρίῳ] 'with the spirit of your fathers'. There is really no ground for rejecting this reading in favour of *πατρίῳ*, which Dindorf, Breitenbach and others would substitute for it. The alteration was no doubt suggested by a desire to conform to Hermann's ruling that *πάτρια* denotes '*quæ sunt patris*', *πατρία* '*quæ veniunt a patre*', *πατρικά* '*qualia sunt patris*'. More probably, however, *πατρίος* is confined to the *family*, and *πάτριος* to the *nation*, in which case the former adjective is more in accordance with the tone of the speech. Compare in particular such passages as the following: *καὶ τότε ἐνίκων οἱ ἡμέτεροι πρόγονοι τοὺς τούτων πρόγονους*. and again *τοιούτων μὲν ἔστε προγόνων*.

εἰς αὐτούς] I have already noticed this use of the preposition in

IV. §. 18 and elsewhere. In the passage which follows, the negative is combined with *δέχεσθαι* instead of *θέλονσι* in order that the cowardice of the enemy may be placed in the clearest possible light: 'determined to avoid us', rather than 'wished not to meet us'.

§ 17. *μείον...έχειν*] 'nor yet imagine that you are placed at a disadvantage in this respect that...'. In Attic Greek *εἰ* often stands with the indicative in the sense of *ὅτι* to avoid a positive statement even in the case of an acknowledged fact.

§ 18. *οἱ μύριοι ἑπταεῖς*] 'a body of ten thousand horse', but not in special reference to the number of the enemy's cavalry, as the remainder of the sentence (*οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες εἰσὶν οἱ ποιοῦντες κ.τ.λ.*) shows that the statement is quite a general one. To read, as Krüger does, *μυριοί*, 'countless', in place of *μύριοι*, 'the proverbial 10,000', is to rob the passage of half its force.

§ 19. *κρέμανται*] 'are poised' on horseback: in contrast with *βεβηκότες*, 'are planted' on the ground. The verb *τευξόμεθα* is used in its original Homeric sense of 'hitting a mark'.

ἡμᾶς] for which Cobet would substitute *ἡμῶν*, is the universal reading of the MSS, though I can find no other instance in which *προέχειν* is followed by an accusative.

§ 20. *λαβόντες*] 'such of the inhabitants as we may seize and direct to guide us'. In the sentence which follows observe that *περὶ* with an accusative denotes more *general* and *indefinite* relations than the same preposition with the genitive.

§ 21. *μηδὲ τοῦτο ἐτι ἔχοντας*] 'without so much as the money to buy with', for the pay of the troops had ended with the death of Cyrus.

§ 22. *ἀπορον*] 'but regard the rivers as a hopeless business, and think that you were greatly misled when you crossed them'. Notwithstanding the use of *ἀποροι* below in the sense of 'impassable', I still prefer to take *ἀπορον* in the more general signification of 'hopeless', 'desperate', more especially as *ἀπορα νομίζειν* in this sense is a favourite phrase with our author.

σκέψασθε εἰ] 'consider that here again to my thinking the barbarians have acted in a very foolish fashion'. Students will do well to compare the construction of this clause with what is at first sight a similar one: *μηδὲ μέντοι τοῦτο μείον δοξήτε ἔχειν εἰ...ἀφιστήκασιν* (§ 17). In reality however the present construction stands on a totally different footing, as the direct dependence of the clause upon the imperative *σκέψασθε* causes an ambiguity which a careful writer would studiously have avoided.

ἀποροι ὦσι] 'granted that they are impassable at a distance from their source'. If we are to retain the reading of the best MSS the present is an instance of the rare use of *εἰ* with the subjunctive. For a full explanation of this construction, which would exceed the limits of a note, I must refer the reader to *Madv. Gk. Gram.* § 125.

προϊούσι] 'as we advance', a phrase in which the participle is used to define the *special circumstances* or *limitations* within which an event can happen. For a similar construction, see note on *ὡς συνελόντι ἐπιεῖν* in § 38 of the first chapter.

§ 23. διοίσουσιν] διήσουσιν al., which I believe to be the right reading by comparison with IV. 1. 8, v. 4. 2. That διοίσουσιν can ever mean 'vary in their depth', as Macmichael translates it, I do not for an instant believe, and, if it is to be retained in the text, we can only understand the verb in its primitive sense as an equivalent for διήσουσιν. In Soph. *Trach.* 323 there is the same difficulty in determining between διοίσει and διήσει.

οὐ τὰρα τῷ γε πρόσθεν οὐδὲν ἐξ ἴσου

χρόνῳ διοίσει γλώσσαν

where, I think, διαφέρειν γλώσσαν is used poetically for 'to part the lips'. βελτίους εἶναι] because the Mysians, like the Carians, were a proverbially worthless race.

βασιλέως...ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ] Schneider and Dindorf would alter the sentence so as to avoid this recurrence of the word βασιλέως. On the other hand the repetition is not without force, as in the case of αὐτός in § 4 of the present chapter. Besides which, the sense of the passage requires a statement of the kind to show that the settlement of the Mysians was made independently of the king's consent.

§ 24. εἰν ἔφην] is the reading of the MSS, for which Bornemann and others would substitute φαίην. But the indicative is not only a more forcible but also a more correct construction, since for the reasons given in § 25 the feeling of the speaker is *against* a long-continued residence in the country. Macmichael well compares Juv. III. 315:

His aliis poteram et plures subnectere causas:

Sed iumenta vocant.

For the compound κατασκευάζεσθαι, see note on κατεσκευασμένοι in IV. 1. 8.

οἴκαδε ὠρμημένους] 'that we have started for home'.

καὶ ὁδοποιήσειέ γε] 'aye, and would make a road for them too'.

§ 25. ἀλλὰ γὰρ] 'But (I do not recommend this course) for I am afraid that...', 'I am afraid however that...'.

For καὶ Μήδων δὲ see note on the force of δὲ in IV. 1. 13, and again in IV. 6. 13. For the story of the lotus-eaters, see Herod. IV. 177 and Hom. *Od.* IX. 84.

§ 26. κομισαμένους] 'when they have it in their power to bring hither their needy citizens at home, and see them enriched'. White makes the strange mistake of translating κομισαμένους, 'having come hither'. The active πολιτεύειν is here employed in its usual and legitimate sense, 'to be a member of a community', while on the other hand the middle voice is generally used of a statesman, 'one who takes part in the politics of a community'. ἀκλήρους, 'without a portion', has a special force in relation to the context, as κλήρος is the regular word for an allotment of conquered territory. With the whole tenor of the passage compare a very similar suggestion in the *Vesprae* of Aristophanes, v. 705:

εἰ γὰρ ἐβούλοτο βίον πορίσαι τῷ δήμῳ ῥάδιον ἢν δν.

εἰσὶν γε πόλεις χθῆναι, αἱ νῦν τὸν φόρον ἡμῶν ἀπάγουσιν

τούτων εἰκοσι ἀνδρας βόσκειν εἰ τις προσέταξεν ἐκάστη,

δύο μυριάδες τῶν δημοτικῶν ἐξων ἐν πᾶσι λαγύμοις.

§ 27. στρατηγῇ] 'may not regulate our march'. ζεύγη, 'teams' (*equi et boues jugales*, Sturz).

§ 28. τὰ περισσά] 'the superfluous articles'. It is better to treat κρατουμένων as a genitive absolute than to make it directly dependent on the word ἀλλότρια. 'When men are conquered all things are wrested from them'.

§ 29. ὄντων μὲν] 'so long as our officers were alive and we obeyed them'. On the position of πολὺ in § 30 we have already commented in a note on III. i. 22.

With the words νῦν ἢ πρόσθεν at the end of § 30 we must supply γενέσθαι from the previous clause.

§ 31. ἦν ψηφίσσῃ] This recurrence of ἦν is so awkward that I am strongly inclined to read ψηφίσασθε, or else ψηφίσασθαι with Breitenbach, who makes the infinitive depend on δεῖ in the previous section.

τὸν αἰεὶ ὑμῶν ἐντυγχάνοντα] 'that he of you who at any time meets with such a one is to aid the commander in punishing him'. For this sense of αἰεὶ, see note on τὸ ὑπερβάλλον in IV. i. 7. In ἐψευσμένοι ἔσονται notice the force of the tense, 'will find themselves mistaken', while a remarkable use of the perfect occurs in Thuc. VI. 17, ἀλλὰ μέγιστον δὴ αὐτοῦς ἐψευσμένη ἦ Ἑλλάς μόλις ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ἱκανῶς ὠπλίσθη.

§ 32. εἰ δέ τι ἄλλο βέλτιον ἢ ταύτη] i.e. βέλτιον ἢ τὸ ταύτη περαινέειν, though by a slight change in the construction ταύτη is substituted for the accusative τοῦτο. Some of the editors introduce εἶδε or οἶδε into the text and read ἄλλων for ἄλλα, which impairs the rhythm of the sentence without touching the real difficulty.

§§ 33 to end. *After a short speech from Cheirisophus, and another from Xenophon who arranges the order of the march, the assembly is broken up.*

§ 33. καὶ αὐτίκα] = *max etiam*, 'even later on'.

§ 34. προσδοκᾶν] A strange verb to be combined with δοκεῖ, and, if it were not for the almost universal agreement of the MSS in favour of retaining it, I should certainly be inclined to read προσδεῖν, the emendation of Wyttenbach. As it stands, the text can only mean 'the contingencies which I think we must anticipate'.

§ 35. αὐτοῖ] is rather more elegant than the other reading οὗτοι, and also rests on stronger authority. This particular form of anacoluthon (*εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι.. εἰ καὶ αὐτοῖ*), of which we have already had several instances, is at once inelegant and a mark of carelessness on the part of the writer, being an obvious and clumsy device for meeting the difficulties of a parenthesis.

§ 36. πλᾶσιον] Elsewhere called πλᾶσιον ἰσόπλευρον, 'a hollow square'. In spite of Macmichael's apology for εἶη I agree with Krüger and Poppo that it is practically indefensible, and that it must be abandoned in favour of ᾗ. The ordinary explanation that the optative suggests a more uncertain chance of realization than the subjunctive is not available here, as this construction, where it occurs, *always follows a past tense*, of which there is no trace in the present instance. Thus

we can say in Greek 'they did it...in order that there *may* be' (cf. Thuc. III. 22 *ὅπως ἴσασθῇ τὰ σημεῖα τῆς φρυκτωρίας τοῖς πολεμοῖς ἢ καὶ μὴ βοηθοῦν*), but we cannot say 'they do it...in order that there *might* be'.

τὰ πρόσθεν κοσμεῖν] 'to regulate the vanguard'. *ὅποτε ἔλθοιεν* may be the optative of *doubt* or *uncertainty* 'if ever the enemy come', or, more probably, it is the simple optative of repetition. *τοῖς τεταγμένοις* is of course a neuter, 'the plans we have made'.

§ 37. *ἡγείσθω...ἐπιμελείσθω*] The imperative is so clearly the mood which we require that it is surprising to find the optatives retained in Breitenbach's edition.

τὸ νῦν εἶναι] 'at any rate for the present'. Compare *τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον εἶναι* (I. 6. 9). These phrases are usually explained as simply equivalent to *τὸ νῦν, τὸ κατὰ τοῦτον* (see White's note on the passage referred to). This does not however account for the presence of the infinitive, which is exegetical, and tends to *limit* or *qualify* the meaning of the phrase.

§ 38. *δεῖ*] 'from time to time' as in § 31. In § 39 beginners will distinguish *μνησθῶν εἶναι*, 'let him remember *to be*', from *μνησθῶ ὦν* 'let him remember *that he is*'.

CHAPTER III.

§§ 1—5. *The overtures made by Mithridates, and the answer of Chairisophus, together with the defection of Nicarchus and the measures taken in consequence.*

§ 1. *μετεδίδωσαν*] For the constructions of *μετέχεω, μεταδίδωαι*, see note on *οὐ προσέσαν* in IV. 5. 5. The phrase *εἰς ἐπήκοον* (i. e. *τόπον*) 'within hearing' occurs again in II. 5. 38 and elsewhere.

§ 4. *ὑπόπηκτος εἶη*] 'that he was insidiously sent', 'that he was sent with a purpose'—a force of the compound which appears again in II. 4. 22, *τότε δὲ καὶ ἐγνώσθη ὅτι οἱ βάρβαροι τὸν ἀνθρώπον ὑποπέμψαιεν*.

The words *καὶ γὰρ* introduce an additional cause for the suspicion felt by the Greeks: 'add to which he was accompanied by a relative of Tissaphernes to insure his fidelity'.

§ 5. *ἀκήρυκτον εἶναι*] 'that the war would allow of no intercourse by herald so long as they continued in the enemy's country'. For this phrase (which is often found in connection with the adjective *ἄσπονδος*) compare in particular the opening passage of the second book of Thucydides.

Nothing can be determined as to the identity of this Nicarchus with the man of the same name who at the close of the previous book brought the news of the capture of the generals.

§§ 6—10. *The Greeks cross the river Zabatus, and are severely harassed by Mithridates owing to the want of slingers and cavalry.*

§ 6. *τὸν Ζάβατον ποταμὸν*] The river *Zab*, one of the most important confluent of the Tigris which at certain seasons of the

year it surpasses in magnitude. It was known to the older geographers as the Lycus, and to Pliny as the Zerbis. For further particulars see Ainsworth, p. 134.

§ 7. βραχύτερα... ἐτόξευον] The superiority of the Persian archers was no doubt mainly owing to the greater length of their bows. Cf. III. 4. 17, μεγάλα δὲ καὶ τὰ τόξα τὰ Περσικὰ ἔστιν. For the phrase βραχύτερα ἐτόξευον, 'had a shorter range than the Persians', we may compare the expression *brevius valere* in Tacitus *Ann.* (vi. 35) where it is used of the Sarmatian bowmen. The Cretans alluded to in the present instance were no doubt the two hundred men who had followed in the train of Clearchus (I. 2. 9).

§ 8. ἢ ὡς ἐξικνεῖσθαι] A construction which is employed after the comparative degree when it is an entire sentence that is the object of comparison. Usually this infinitive will refer either actively or passively to the subject of the adjective, while occasionally it is independent of the adjective whether as regards subject or object.

§ 9. καταλαμβάνειν] 'to overtake'. ἐκ πολλοῦ will mean 'with a long start'. Compare ἐκ τόξου ῥύματος at the end of § 15.

§ 10. φεύγοντες ἄμα ἐπίτρωσκον] I have already noticed this use of ἄμα in IV. 1. 19, and again in IV. 7. 2. εἰς τοῦπισθεν 'backward', 'behind their backs': reminding us of the description of the Parthian archers in Verg. *Georg.* III. 31, *Fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis*.

§§ 11—end. On their arrival at a village they reconsider their position and arrange for a supply of archers and cavalry.

§ 11. τῆς ἡμέρας ὅλης] 'in the course of all that day'. The genitive is probably used with the express object of denoting their broken and fragmentary march: 'at intervals throughout the day', 'in their starts throughout the day'. Similarly we may translate δειλῆς which follows 'in the late afternoon'.

§ 14. μὴ μεγάλη] 'so as to do us no great harm, but rather to show us our deficiencies'.

§ 15. οἱ ἐκ χειρὸς βάλλοντες]=οἱ ἀκοντισταί, as distinguished from the archers.

πολὺ] Although this word is placed early in the sentence for the sake of emphasis, it goes closely with χωρίον in translation, and must not be taken adverbially as in III. 1. 22 and elsewhere.

ἐκ τόξου ῥύματος] 'if he starts but the length of a bow-shot in advance'.

§ 16. εἰ μέλλοιμεν] for which White and others read μέλλομεν on the ground that the optative would express a doubt in the speaker's mind, is rightly retained by Bornemann on the analogy of the following passage from Xen. *Hell.* IV. 8. 5, ὁ καὶ νεῶν καὶ πεζῶν δεῖται, εἰ μέλλοι πολιορκηθῆσθαι. With τὴν ταχίστην understand ὁδόν.

§ 17. ἐκείναι] 'the latter', a common use of the pronoun when it stands alone. On the other hand, when it is found in combination with οὗτος, it is to be referred to the more remote of the two objects. With the poetic word χειροσληθῆσιν compare the use of ἀμαξίαλους in IV. 2. 4. The 'leaden bullets' referred to in ταῖς μολυβδίσω are

alluded to by several of the Latin poets, e.g. by Ovid (*Metam.* II. 727) and Vergil (*Æn.* IX. 588).

§ 18. *καὶ τοῦτω μὲν δώμεν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον*] 'and give money to such an one in exchange for them', where *τοῦτω* has a collective force and refers to the *τίνες* above. Several of the editors retain the reading *καὶ τοῦτων τῷ μὲν δώμεν αὐτῶν ἀργύριον* which destroys the balance of the sentence and stultifies the word *ἄλλο* in the succeeding clause, the very point of which is that the same men who sold their slings might also get an *additional* reward if they chose to plait others. I am myself strongly inclined to think that the true reading is as follows: *καὶ τοῦτων μὲν δώμεν αὐτῷ ἀργύριον*, in which case *αὐτῷ* will take the place of *τοῦτω* in the text, and be referable to the word *τίνες* above 'giving money to *such an one* in exchange for them'.

ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ] 'in the place appointed for him'. The word *ἄλλην* may be interpreted in three distinct ways in the present passage: (i) 'some exemption from duty *besides*', i. e. in addition to the money he might have made by selling or plaiting slings, (ii) 'some other immunity' as distinct from a monetary reward (cf. *ἄλλο* I. 5. 5), and (iii) 'an exemption from certain other duties' as in II. 6. 11. Of the above explanations, the second is probably the correct one.

§ 19. *αἰχμαλώτους*] 'which we have captured from the enemy'. *σκευοφόρα*] 'and replace them with baggage-animals while we accoutre the horses for cavalry use'.

§ 20. *ἐδοκιμάσθησαν*] 'passed muster', 'were adjudged fit for service'. For the meaning of the word *στολᾶδες* and its different forms, see note on IV. I. 18.

CHAPTER IV.

§§ 1—5. *After they had crossed the stream, Mithridates again encounters the Greeks in a deep ravine, and is defeated by them with great loss.*

§ 1. *χαράδραν*] The *Kharir* or *Burmadus* (al. *Bumadus*), a tributary of the *Zabatus*. Here they met and defeated Mithridates in the valley formed by the torrent. There is some little difficulty in fixing the exact position of the ford. Layard would place it as far as five-and-twenty miles from the confluence of the *Zabatus* and *Tigris*: Macmichael at less than half that distance: while Colonel Chesney considers that the crossing was made in the immediate neighbourhood of their confluence.

§ 2. *καταφρονήσας*] 'whom he despised from the fact that...'

§ 3. *παρήγγελτο*] sub. *τούτοις*, 'now word had been passed to those of the peltasts and hoplites on whom fell the duty of the pursuit'.

§ 4. *κατεῖλθε*] 'had overtaken them'. With *ἐσήμενε* supply *σαλπικτῆς* as in II. 2. 4. This omission is common in the case of certain officials (e.g. *κῆρυξ*, *γραμματεὺς*, etc.), whose duties were so well recognised as to be suggested by the mere use of the verb.

ἐθεον ὁμῶσε] 'those who had received their orders immediately closed with the foe'.

§ 5. αὐτοκέλευστοι] 'without orders', 'acting from impulse'.

§§ 6—9. *The Greeks reach the river Tigris and the city of Larissa of which the author gives a description.*

§ 7. Ἀδρυσσα] Nearly all the authorities are agreed in identifying this place with the ruins of *Nimrud*, a quarter of the larger city of Nineveh. It is further suggested that this Assyrian capital may represent the original city of *Resen* and that from the combination *Al Resen* the name Larissa was formed by the Greeks. If we accept this more than doubtful theory, the statement *ᾠκουν αὐτὴν τὸ παλαιὸν Μῆδοι* must refer to the period which followed the subjugation of the city by Cyaxares I. A right theory, which later discoveries have tended to confirm, has been suggested by Colonel Rawlinson to the effect that *Nimrud* or *Larissa* represents the *Calah* of Genesis, which in the Samaritan Pentateuch appears as *Lachish*, (see Ainsworth, p. 137).

δύο παρασάγγαι] in all probability about seven and a quarter miles. κρητὶς λιθίνη, 'a stone foundation'.

§ 8. βασιλεὺς ὁ Περσῶν] Cyrus the Great. Observe the force of the imperfect ἐλάμβανον, 'were endeavouring to seize the empire'.

νεφέλην προκαλύψας] The allusion is clearly to an eclipse of the sun, but the reading of the passage is more than doubtful. The text may be defended on the ground that it stands by hypallage for νεφέλη τὴν πόλιν προκαλύψας (Macmichael), or in some degree by the analogy of the familiar passage in Soph. *Aj.* 674:

δεινὼν τ' ἄγμα πνευμάτων ἐκόμισε
στένοντα πόντον.

If it were not for the unanimity of the MSS in favour of the text the temptation would be great to read ἥλιον δὲ νεφέλη προκαλύψασα ἠφάνισε, an emendation of Amasæus which is adopted by several of the editors.

§ 9. παρὰ τὴν πόλιν] For this force of παρὰ see note on IV. 3. 1.

§§ 10—12. *A description of Mespila, their next halting-place.*

§ 10. Μέσπιλα] a portion of *Nineveh*, if we accept the opinion of Layard, Chesney and others: while Rawlinson, on the other hand, identifies it with *Mosul*. In either case the name *Mespila* (i.e. *mesopotulai*) was no doubt applied by the Greeks to the pass of the Tigris.

κογχυλιάτου] 'The common building-stone of *Mosul* is highly fossiliferous, indeed replete with shells' (Ainsworth, p. 140).

§ 12. ἐμβροντήτους ποιῶ] 'strikes the inhabitants with a panic'. How and in what way we have no means of inferring, though it is possible, as White suggests, that the adjective is used in its literal sense to indicate the effects of a thunderstorm.

§§ 13—23. *The progress of the Greeks is impeded by Tissaphernes and his troops. Special arrangements are made to secure them against his attacks.*

§ 13. *ἐἰς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν σταθμὸν*] 'in the midst of this day's march', White; but compare rather the old phrase 'against the morrow' in the sense of 'on the morrow', and other similar expressions.

οὓς τε...ἔχων] i.e. *ἐκείνους τε ἔχων ἱππέας, οὓς αὐτὸς ἦλθεν ἔχων*—an awkward and unnatural construction, as the participle *ἔχων*, though entirely subordinate to the verb *ἦλθεν*, is made to supply the place of the main verb in the sentence. In the word *ἱππέας* the author alludes to the 500 cavalry mentioned in I. 2. 4.

τὴν βασιλέως θυγατέρα] See II. 4. 8. Plutarch gives Rhodogune as the name of this daughter of Artaxerxes.

ὁ βασιλέως ἀδελφός] mentioned in II. 4. 25 as *ὁ Κίρου καὶ Ἀρταξέρξου νόθος ἀδελφός*.

§ 14. *ὀπισθεν*] 'in the rear of the Greeks'. For the full force of the construction *εἶχεν καταστήσας* see note on *εἶχον ἀνακεκομσμένοι* (IV. 7. 1).

παραγαγών] 'and others he drew out by a side-movement (*παρα*) to bear upon our flanks'. *διακινδυνεύειν* is to 'risk a decisive engagement'.

§ 15. *διαταχθέντες*] 'having been dispersed among the ranks' (White); but there is no ground for supposing that this arrangement had been selected, which would on many accounts have been an awkward one, while the contrary is suggested in § 26 of the present chapter. 'In open order' is surely the more natural interpretation.

[*Σκύθαι*] the suggestion of Schneider, can scarcely be maintained, as we know from other passages that there were no Scythians among the troops. On the other hand *Σκυθοτοξόται*, which is supported by good authority, is easily defensible as implying no more than 'mounted archers of the Scythian type'.

§ 16. *ἐρίνοντο*] is no doubt the true reading, as the rare occurrence of the verb in prose will easily account for the substitution of *ἐπέκειντο*, which appears in some of the MSS.

§ 17. *ἄνω λέντες μακρὰν*] White boldly joins issue with Bishop Thirlwall in regard to the meaning of this passage, and supports Raleigh's view, who, in his *Hist. of the World* (III. 10. 8), says that Xenophon 'trained his archers to shoot compass who had been accustomed to the point blank'. But, granting the fact, I should still not expect to find it incidentally mentioned without a word of comment on so unusual a custom, more especially when the context proves that the main object of their present training was to give them a longer range than that of their enemy. I am inclined, therefore, to think that *ἄνω λέντες* means no more than 'shooting into the air', in order to avoid the trouble of collecting the arrows.

§ 18. *πολλὸς σίτος*] 'Fertility (says Ainsworth) is the characteristic of the plain of Nineveh to the present day.'

§ 19. *ἐγνώσαν*] 'discovered that a square was a bad arrangement for troops with an enemy following in the rear'. *τὰ κέρατα* is virtually equivalent to *αἱ πλευραὶ*, the only difference, as the word denotes, being this—that in the case of *κέρατα* the flanks of the column are regarded from the *extremities*, in the case of *πλευραὶ* from the *sides*.

συγκύπτῃ] 'should the flanks of the column be compressed...the hoplites (*who form the centre*) are forced out of position...on the other hand, when the flanks diverge, those who a while ago were forced out of place are now too widely scattered'.

20. ἀλλην τινὰ διάβασιν] 'to go over a bridge or *any other crossing*'. The same phrase occurs again in § 23, and in both cases alike there is a doubt whether διάβασιν is to be regarded as a *direct* or a *cognate* accusative. Its combination with γέφυραν naturally suggests the former, while the latter is the more idiomatic construction, 'to cross by a bridge or *in any other kind of way*'.

εὐεπιθετον ἦν] 'and in such cases the enemy had a fine opportunity of attack'. White compares IV. 8. 12 and Herod. VII. 199, in proof that εὐεπιθετον is here used absolutely, and that we need not understand πλάσιον with Zeune and others.

§ 21. ἐνωμοτάρχους] The ἐνωμοτία (judging from the present passage) consisted of twenty-five men, and formed the fourth part of a λόχος. If so, it must have varied in numbers according to circumstances, as Thucydides (V. 68) says that it contained on an average thirty-two men.

ὑπέμενον ὕστεροι] 'they waited behind in the rear'. The words which follow, τότε δὲ παρήγον κ.τ.λ., have been explained in two ways, (i) 'and afterwards by a side-movement (παρα) came back into position outside the flanks', (ii) 'while at other times they marched along outside the wings'. Of these interpretations the former, which is preferred by Bornemann, is also more consistent with the context, with the ordinary use of the verb παράγειν, and with the idea suggested by ἐπιπαρήσαν in § 23.

§ 22. κατὰ λόχους] White, following Halbkart, offers an elaborate explanation of the present passage, for which I must refer the reader to p. 177 of his edition. It proceeds on the theory that κατὰ λόχους is to be understood as implying that the companies were drawn up *side by side*. But the ordinary use of the phrase suggests a far simpler interpretation, viz. that the author is describing the columns in reference to their *depth*, and that κατὰ λόχους will mean 100 deep and therefore six abreast, while κατὰ πεντηκοστῆς and κατ' ἐνωμοτίας will mean respectively 50 deep and 12 abreast, or, on the other hand, 25 deep and 24 abreast.

§ 23. εἰ που δέοι τι τῆς φάλαγγος] 'if any help was required in any quarter of the main column (που τῆς φάλαγγος)'. Macmichael suggests 'if there was any need of the column anywhere', or 'if it were necessary for a part of the column to be present anywhere'—neither of which interpretations is at all satisfactory.

§§ 24—30. *The Greeks arrive at a palace after making their way over some lofty hills in the neighbourhood of which they are harassed by the enemy.*

§ 24. βασιλεῖν τι] A castle called *Zakhu* (says Ainsworth) still stands in this spot surrounded by villages, while the hills mentioned by Xenophon have been satisfactorily identified as a triple range known to the Arabs and the Kurds as the 'White Hills'.

§ 25. ἐς τὸ πρηνές] 'down hill', 'following the slope of the hill'.

In illustration of the phrase ὑπὸ μαστίγων compare the well-known passage in the account given by Herodotus of the battle of Thermopylae (VII. 223).

§ 30. κατὰ τὸ ὄρος] By this manœuvre the peltasts were enabled to cover the march of the rest of the troops whose path lay across the spurs (γληόφους) which the mountain threw out at its base.

§§ 31—36. *After remaining three days at their next halting-place the Greeks descend into the plain, where their progress is again impeded by Tissaphernes and his troops.*

§ 31. ἀμα ἐπιτήδεια...εἶχον] By a very common idiom the second reason for their stay is stated as an independent fact without the addition of ὅτι.

§ 32. ἀπόμαχοι] 'disabled for action'.

§ 33. πολλὸν γὰρ διέφερον] 'for it made a vast difference when they could sally forth from their position and repel the foe instead of having to meet his attack in the course of their march'. There can be little doubt that the above is the correct text, though Bornemann, I see, still follows the majority of the MSS in reading διέφερον...ὀρμῶντες...πορευόμενοι, 'for they were much more successful in defending themselves by sorties from a camp than in meeting the enemy's attack in the course of a march'—a very weak form in which to state so evident a fact.

§ 35. αὐτοῖς] An ethic dative, for which see note on IV. 1. 24, and again IV. 6. 16.

πεποδισμένοι] 'shackled'. Cf. Tac. Ann. IV. 25. In the clause which follows the full construction would be ὅπερ ἂν ποιήσκειαν εἰ λυθέησαν.

θωρακισθέντα] Notice the change to the accusative after δεῖ. It is scarcely necessary to explain so common a construction, for in a succession of clauses it is only natural that, as the dependence on the main verb becomes less and less direct, the construction should take a more general and ordinary form.

§ 36. διαγγελλομένους] 'passing the word through the ranks'. Compare the use of παρεγγυᾶν in IV. 7. 24 and elsewhere. With ἐκήρυξε supply κήρυξ, an omission similar to that which we have already noticed in the case of σημαίνειν.

λῦειν] for λυσίτελεῖν, 'it did not seem expedient', another instance of our author's partiality for poetic expressions. κατάγεισθαι, 'to get back to their camp', is in fact a nautical phrase meaning 'to land themselves at their camp'.

§§ 37 to end. *The enemy steal a march and occupy certain heights from which they are dislodged by the Greeks.*

§ 37. ἀναφεύξαντες] To be understood, as White observes, in its most general sense, as the Greeks had destroyed all their baggage-waggons before commencing their retreat.

χωρίον ὑπερδέξιον] 'a commanding position on the right hand'. ἀκρωνυχίαν ὄρους is the 'brow of the mountain'. The scene of this conflict, which took place in the outlying mountains of Kurdistan, has

been satisfactorily identified by Ainsworth and Chesney as a spur from the main range which advances beyond the plain of *Zakhu* down to the banks of the Tigris.

§ 41. ἐφοδον] 'an approach'. It will be observed that the brow of the hill (ἀκρωνυχία) which was in the occupation of the enemy was not the actual summit of the mountain, being itself commanded by the κορυφή or peak now mentioned.

§ 42. οἱ συμπεμψαί] 'to send with him some men from the front'. Even beginners need scarcely be reminded that οἱ is the dative of the personal pronoun οὗ, and, being an enclitic, throws back its accent on the preceding word.

§ 43. τοὺς κατὰ μέσον] 'those stationed at the middle of the square'. There is considerable doubt as to what troops are meant by the word *τριακσίους*, Krüger assuming somewhat arbitrarily that they formed one half of the 600 men mentioned in § 21, while White, with greater probability, understands it as referring to a body of troops who were in personal attendance on Cheirisophus.

§ 44. ἀμυλλᾶσθαι] 'to have a race to the top' is an exact, if not very elegant, rendering.

§ 46. χρόνον] Bornemann is no doubt right in following the MSS which omit this word. Its place in the sentence is particularly objectionable on the score of rhythm.

§ 48. ἐχων] 'with it'. In illustration of τὸν ἱππικὸν White compares Plut. *Vit. Philop.* 9, περὶ ἐν ἱππικῷ θώρακι καὶ σκευῇ βαρυτένα. In the following sentence notice the contrast which is intended between ὑπάγειν 'to lead on *gently*', and παρτείνειν 'to press forward'.

§ 49. ὁ δὲ] sc. Ξενοφών. With βᾶσιμα (as I have already suggested in the case of ἀπορα and similar words) supply the most general subject, i. e. πράγματα.

CHAPTER V.

§§ 1—6. *Tissaphernes and his troops retire before the Greeks, burning the villages on their way.*

§ 1. ἐν κώμῃ] The plain in which this village lay is found precisely in the position indicated, between a spur of the main range and the low hills which again block up the plain opposite to the town called *Bezabde* by the Romans. There was formerly a bridge over the Tigris in this neighbourhood, the ruins of which still exist.

§ 2. καὶ γὰρ] These words introduce the reason of the foregoing statement: 'for in fact many herds of cattle had been intercepted in the act of being conveyed to the further bank of the river'.

§ 3. ἐννοούμενοι] 'being apprehensive that...'. The verb occurs again in the same sense and construction in Book VI. of the *Anabasis*.

§ 4. ἐκ τῆς βοηθείας] 'after their sally to the rescue'.

§ 5. ὑφιέστας] 'conceding that the country is now our own: for whereas they stipulated in their proposals for a truce that we should refrain from burning the king's territory, they now of their own accord burn it as though they had lost all claim to its possession'. Two points should be noticed in regard to the construction of the above sentence, (i) that the negative statement *μη* *kalew* reappears in a *positive* form in the latter clause of the sentence, (ii) that *αὐτοὶ καλοῦσιν* is a condensed expression for *αὐτοὶ ποιῶσι καλοῦντες*.

§ 6. βοηθεῖν ἐπὶ] 'to make a *raid* upon these destroyers'.

§§ 7—12. *Despondency of the Greeks, placed as they were between high mountains on the one side and a river of great depth on the other. A Rhodian soldier suggests a scheme for crossing the river, which on consideration is rejected as impracticable.*

§ 7. ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνάς] 'to their quarters'. The word is used in a general sense, for, as we have already noticed, they had burnt their tents and had accustomed themselves to bivouacking in the open air.

δρῆ] The Carduchian mountains.

§ 9. τὴν διάβασιν] 'the means of crossing', though here again, as in cap. 4. 20, it may denote the actual bridge. The description which follows may be illustrated by two well-known passages of Herodotus, for the device suggested for anchoring the pontoons will recall the means employed for steadying the barges on the Nile (Herod. II. 96), while, in the construction of its upper works, the bridge would resemble the one thrown by Xerxes across the Hellespont.

§ 10. ὀρμύσας ἑκαστὸν] 'I would moor each bag by attaching stones to it and dropping them like anchors into the water, whereupon, having extended them across the river and secured them to the banks at either end, I would place brushwood upon them and over that a layer of soil'.

§§ 13 to end. *The Greeks retrace their steps and halt at certain villages. After receiving information as to the character of the surrounding tribes they determine to force a passage through the territory of the Carduchians.*

§ 13. εἰς τοὺς πελάγιν ἢ πρὸς Βαβυλῶνα] The villages to which they retreated were probably at the westerly end of the plain of *Zakhu*. Layard however would place them in the neighbourhood of *Funduk*, which, as Ainsworth remarks, commands the chief pass of the Tigris, and could not therefore have been reached by the Greeks at the present stage of their retreat. Students will notice the force of the compound ὑπανεχώρουν 'continued to retreat gradually'.

ὁμοιοὶ ᾗσαν θαυμάζοντες] 'were like persons wondering'. In combinations like this the participle may take the case of the subject or object indifferently. See Jelf's *Gk. Gram.* § 682. 2. For the definite future *πρόψονται* and the more remote contingency expressed by the optative *έχοιεν*, see note on *διέλθοιεν* (IV. 1, 3).

§ 15. τῆς ἐπὶ Βαβυλῶνα εἰς] sub. ὁδοῦ 'were in the direction that lay towards Babylon and Media'. In regard to *θερίζειν* and *ἐαρίζειν*, the former of which refers to *Ecbatana*, compare *Cyrop.* VIII. 6. 22.

διαβάντι] 'if you cross the river'.

§ 16. *ὅποτε μέντοι κ.τ.λ.*] 'yet when from time to time (*frequent. opt.*) they made a treaty with the satrap in the plain, some of their own number had dealings with the Carduchians, and some of the Carduchians with them'.

§ 17. *ἐκασταχόσε*] 'those who professed to know the route that led in each of the above directions'. In the sentence which commences with the words *τούτους γὰρ διελθόντας*, the nominative to *ἔφασαν* will be the captives (*οἱ ἐαλωκότες*) mentioned above, while *τούτους* will refer to the Greeks.

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